

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`





145.6
G821



GREGOROVIUS'
HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. VIII.—PART I.



GEORGE BELL & SONS,

LONDON: YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

NEW YORK: 66, FIFTH AVENUE.

CAMBRIDGE: DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.



HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY

ANNIE HAMILTON

VOL. VIII.—PART I.

LONDON
GEORGE BELL & SONS
1902

114697

CONTENTS.

BOOK XIV.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

1. Caesar Borgia after the Death of his Father—He holds Negotiations with the Cardinals—Orsini and Colonna force their way into the City—Caesar's Treaty with the Colonna—He places himself under the protection of France—He retires to Nepi—Conclave—Pius III. Pope, September 22, 1503—Caesar returns to Rome—Alviano and the Orsini enter Rome—They form an Alliance with Gonsalvo—Caesar Borgia takes Refuge in S. Angelo—Death of Pius III., October 18, 1503, ... PAGE 1

2. Rovere holds Negotiations with Caesar respecting the Papal Election—Julius II. Pope, November 1, 1503—The Venetians in the Romagna—Caesar's design of going thither—Duke Guidobaldo in Rome—Negotiations concerning Caesar's Fortresses—His meeting with Guidobaldo—Defeat of the French Army in Naples—Caesar's Flight from Ostia to Naples; his Capture at the hands of Gonsalvo, and his end—Machiavelli and Caesar Borgia, ... 16

3. Julius II. and the Condition of the World and Italy in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century—The State of the Church and its Barons—The Nephews of the Pope—Creations of Cardinals—League of Blois, September 1504—John Jordan married to Felice Rovere, Marc-

antonio Colonna to Lucrezia Rovere—Julius subjugates Perugia, 1506—Expedition against Bologna—Fall of the Bentivogli—Triumph of the Pope, ... PAGE 37

4. Maximilian at Constance, May 1507—Announcement of his Journey to Rome—War with Venice—League of Cambray—Battle of Agnadello—Distress of the Venetians—Reconciliation of Julius II. with the Republic—Scheme for ousting the French—Julius excommunicates the Duke of Ferrara—Anger of Lewis XII.—Synod at Tours—Chaumont before Bologna—Julius at Mirandola—Loss of Bologna—Murder of Alidosi—A Council is convoked at Pisa—Maximilian and the Papacy—A Council is convoked at the Lateran—Illness of the Pope—Democratic movement in Rome—Pompeo Colonna and the Roman Barons, ... 54

5. The Holy League, October 1511—Failure of the Council of Pisa—Gaston de Foix comes to the relief of Bologna—Battle near Ravenna, April 11, 1512, ... 87

6. Impression created by the Battle in Rome—The Swiss save the Pope—The Lateran Council, May 3, 1512—New League against France—War in Lombardy—Flight of Giovanni Medici—Retreat of the French—The Pope recovers Bologna—Alfonso in Rome—Julius II. seizes Reggio and Modena—The League against Florence carried into effect—Return of the Medici—Parma and Piacenza surrender themselves to the Pope—Dissensions between all Parties—The Swiss Envoys in Rome—Mathias Lang in Rome—Congress—League between the Emperor and Pope against Venice—The Emperor recognises the Lateran Council—Massimiliano Sforza installed in Milan—End of Julius II., ... 99

CHAPTER II.

1. Rome under Julius II.—His attitude towards Monumental Art—Building of Streets—*Via Giulia*—Rebuilding of S. Celso—The Banks—Lungara—Agostino Chigi—His Country House (Farnesina)—Baldassare Peruzzi—Bramante—His Buildings—Giuliano di Sangallo—The

Court of the Belvedere—The Court of Damasus—Rebuilding of S. Peter's—Laying of the Foundation-stone, April 18, 1506—History of the Construction, . . PAGE 120

2. First Collection of Antiquities in the Belvedere—The Apollo—The Group of the Laocoon—The Torso—The Cleopatra or Ariadne — Other Antiquities and Collections in Palaces — Modern Sculpture — Andrea Sansovino — Michael Angelo—His David—His design for the Tomb of Julius II., ... 144

3. Painting—Michael Angelo's Pictures on the Roof of the Sistine Chapel—The Last Judgment—Raffaelle — His Paintings in the Stanze of the Vatican, . . 161

CHAPTER III.

1. Election of Leo X.—His magnificent Procession to the Lateran—The Pope's attitude towards the Powers—War with France and Venice—Battle of Novara, June 6, 1513 — Lewis XII. abjures the Schism — Leo X. and his Nephews — Portuguese Embassy, . . . 175

2. Leo X. makes approaches to France, and at the same time strives to form a League against it — Death of Lewis XII., January 1, 1515—Francis I., King of France—Giuliano Medici marries Filiberta of Savoy — Leo X. joins the League with Spain and the Emperor, July 17, 1515—Hostile Expedition of Francis I. into Italy—He conquers Milan—His Victory at Marignano, September 14, 1515— Consternation of the Pope—Leo journeys to Francis I. — Meeting in Bologna, December 1515—Resolutions formed—Death of Giuliano Medici, March 1516, ... 198

3. Death of Ferdinand the Catholic, January 15, 1516—His Heir and Grandson Charles — Unfortunate War of Maximilian with Venice—Leo X. ousts the Duke of Urbino and gives the Duchy to Lorenzo Medici—Peace of Noyon, December 1516—Maximilian cedes Verona to Venice—The Duke of Urbino recovers his Territories—Disgraceful War waged by the Pope against

him—Conspiracy of the Cardinals Petrucci and Sauli—They, Riario, Soderini and Adrian of Corneto are brought to trial—Wholesale creation of Cardinals, June 1517—End of War with Urbino, ... PAGE 214

4. Marriage of Lorenzo Medici and Madeleine la Tour d'Auvergne—Leo's Alliance with France—End of the Lateran Council, March 1517—Corruption of the Curia—The Florentines at Leo's Court—Leo's love of splendour, extravagance and manner of life—The Indulgence for S. Peter's—Luther protests—The German Humanists—Luther in Augsburg—Hutten—Beginning of the Reformation, ... 238

5. Maximilian's efforts to procure the Election of his Grandson as King of the Romans—His Death—Election struggles—Leo's Policy—Charles V. elected Emperor, June 28, 1519—Death of Lorenzo Medici—Leo's designs on Parma, Piacenza and Ferrara—Execution of Giampolo Baglioni, June 1520—Charles comes to Germany—His Coronation at Aachen—Progress of the Reformation—Diet at Worms—Edict of Worms, . 257

6. League between Charles V. and Leo X.—War in Lombardy—Conquest of Milan—Death of the Pope, December 1521, ... 281

CHAPTER IV.

1. Paganism of the Renascence—Scepticism and Unbelief—Worldly tone of Culture—Classes of Roman Society—Patrons of Literature and Art—Chigi and Altoviti—The Diplomatists—Corruption—Courtesans—Roman Urbanity and Splendour—Verdict of Erasmus on Rome, . 293

2. The Roman Academy—Angelo Colocci—Goritz—Libraries—The Vaticana—Inghirami—Beroaldo—Acciajuoli—Aleander—The Roman University—Ciceronians—Bembo—Sadoleto—Gianfrancesco Pico—Alberto Pio—Antiquaries—Albertini—Mazochi's Collection of Inscriptions—Andreas Fulvius—Pierius Valerianus—Raffaelle's Plan of the City—Mario Fabio of Calvi—Historians—Paris de Grassis—Egidius of Viterbo—Raffaellus Vola-

terranus—Paulus Jovius—Hellenists—Carteromachus—Favorinus—John Lascaris—Musurus—Decline of Humanism—Gyraldi's Invective and Confessions of Jovius, PAGE 312

3. Neo-Latin Poetry—Leo X. and the Poets—The *de Poetis Urbanis* of Arsilli—The Elogia of Jovius—Gyraldi's Literary History—Valerianus "On the Misfortunes of Authors"—The Coryciana—Pasquinades—Evangelista Maddaleni—Camillo Porzio—The Mellini—The Trial of Longolius—Blosius Palladius—Casanova—Adrian of Corneto—Marcantonius Flaminius—Guido Posthumus Silvester—Sannazaro—Vida—Fracastoro—Navagero, . 351

4. Italian Poetry—Bembo's Services to the Italian Language—Molza—Tebaldeo—Bernardo Accolti—Beazzano—Vittoria Colonna—Veronica Gambara—Berni and Burlesque Poetry—Pietro Aretino—Alemanni—Ruccellai—Ariosto—Trissino—The Drama—Comedy—The Calandra of Bibiena—Attempts at Tragedy, . 369

5. Painting—Raffaelle under Leo X.—Giulio Romano—Other Pupils of Raffaelle—Marcantonio Raimondi—Michael Angelo under Leo X.—Monument in honour of the Pope—Gold Workers—S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini—Beginning of the Palazzo Farnese—Raffaelle as Architect—Buildings of Sansovino—Painting on Façades of Buildings—Villas—Material condition of Rome under Leo X.—New Quarters of the City—Growth of the Population—Decay of the Nobility, . . . 388



ERRATUM.

Page 222, line 9, *transpose* "and" *and read* "led by Monaldo and the brave Gonzaga Federigo da Bozzolo."



BOOK FOURTEENTH.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

1. Caesar Borgia after the Death of his Father—He holds Negotiations with the Cardinals—Orsini and Colonna force their Way into the City—Caesar's Treaty with the Colonna—He Places Himself under the Protection of France—He Retires to Nepi—Conclave—Pius III. Pope, September 22, 1503—Caesar Returns to Rome—Alviano and the Orsini enter Rome—They form an Alliance with Gonsalvo—Caesar Borgia takes Refuge in S. Angelo—Death of Pius III., October 18, 1503.

Until his father's death Caesar Borgia remained ruler in Rome. He possessed an ample supply of money and mercenaries, the strongest fortresses in the Campagna, and the serviceable friendship of eight Spaniards in the Sacred College. He could thus procure the election of anyone he pleased.

Caesar Borgia ill in the Vatican.

He lay, however, seriously ill in the Vatican, and his illness decided his fate. "I had thought," he afterwards said to Machiavelli, "of everything that might happen on the death of my father, and provided for every contingency, save that I had never dreamed of being myself sick unto death while he lay dying."[1]

Learning of the Pope's demise, he gave orders for the immediate future. Micheletto, pointing his dagger at the breast of Cardinal Casanova, forced him to deliver up the keys of the papal treasury. Gold and silver, the contents of two chests, were made over to the ailing son of the late pope. Everything else, the very tapestries on the walls, became the spoils of the servants in the palace.[2] The doors of the Vatican were then thrown open and the death of Alexander VI. was announced. It was evening. Rome re-echoed to a thousand voices rejoicing and clamouring for revenge.

Burkard, who records the events almost hour by hour, was in the palace, where he had to provide for the care of the pope's remains. All fled before the revolting sight of the corpse. It was with difficulty that two servants were induced to dress it. In the morning some poor people were paid to remove the dead pope to S. Peter's. He was not exposed according to custom to have his foot kissed.

[1] *Principe*, cap. vii.

[2] According to Burkard there were chests containing 100,000 ducats; according to reports in Sanuto there were 300,000 ducats in money, and 200,000 d. worth of objects of value. *E il ducha li a auti tutti.*

But thousands of visitors thronged to the cathedral, and bestowed "glances of hatred on the dead dragon, who had poisoned the world." In the evening porters placed the remains in a coffin; with blows and foul language they forced the corpse into its case and then carried it to the chapel de Febribus. No tapers were burnt. According to popular report a black dog ran restlessly to and fro during the night in S. Peter's.[1]

The cardinals were in a position of gravest difficulty, were without means, and without protection. The French army under Francesco Gonzaga had already advanced as far as Sutri on its way to Naples. The Orsini and Colonna might appear at any moment in Rome, where the infuriated people threatened to seize the Borgia and to put the Spanish cardinals to death. Meanwhile in the Vatican palace Caesar was protected by his soldiery, who were strengthened by reinforcements from outside.[2] They held the Borgo barricaded and threw up trenches. The Duke of the Romagna was still a power with whom it was necessary to hold negotiations. In conjunction with the Spaniards he might still forcibly interfere in the conclave. Had Caesar Borgia been able to seize the reins of power at this crisis some terrible event would probably have taken place, and the Papacy been overtaken by a

He entrenches himself in the Vatican.

[1] Matarazzo, p. 222. Burkard.

[2] His forces numbered *DC homini a'arme, mille cavalli legieri et VI mille fanti*; thus writes Cardinal Cusentano to Sermoneta on August 25, 1503. Original letter in the Gaetani Archives, x. 43.



catastrophe unprecedented and unparalleled in history.

As early as August 19, sixteen cardinals assembled in the Minerva and appointed the Archbishop of Ragusa governor of the city. When they met again the following day, Micheletto appeared in threatening attitude with horsemen on the piazza; the Cardinal of Salerno went to try and persuade him and his followers to turn, and the angry populace drove them back. Fortunately the provost of S. Angelo, the Bishop of Nicastro, a Spaniard, remained deaf to the Duke's demands for admittance.[1] But the same day Caesar's infantry set fire to the Palazzo Orsini on Monte Giordano. The governor of the city and the conservators now persuaded the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Giustinian, to repair in person to the Duke, in order to discuss the question of granting freedom of choice to the Conclave. The ambassador found him in bed, but not so weak as he had expected. He received from him only words, which meant nothing.[2] Caesar consulted with the Spanish cardinals on the advisability of making the Cardinal of Salerno pope; at the same time he had the approaches guarded both by land and sea to prevent the cardinals of Vincula and S. Giorgio

[1] Sigismondo dei Conti, *Hist.*, xv. p. 289, expressly says that the refusal of this provost of the fortress *Jacobus de Rochemora, Ep. Neocastrensis, prima et potentissima securitatis causa fuit.*

[2] Giustinian's Despatch to the Doge of August 20, 1503. Archives of Venice: *Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian Ambasciatore a Roma da* 1502–1505. These have since been edited by Pasquale Villari, Florence, 1876, 3 vol.

attending the Conclave. But in dread of the popular rage and the arrival of his enemies, he held negotiations with the Sacred College.

He holds negotiations with the Cardinals.

On August 22, through his secretary Agapito, he swore obedience to this assembly, which ratified him in his dignity of General of the Church. The cardinals had exhorted the Colonna and Orsini to remain away from Rome, but on the evening of August 22, Prospero, coming from Marino, entered the city with a few horsemen. The following day Ludovico, son of Count Niccolò of Pitigliano, and Fabio Orsini, son of the Paolo, who had been strangled, came with 400 horse and 500 foot soldiers. They quivered with longing to avenge relations and friends, exile, and the sufferings of years on the monster for whose blood they thirsted. But since they could not reach Caesar in the Vatican, they attacked the Spanish quarter of the Banks, which they sacked. The infuriated Fabio washed his hands and face in the blood of a murdered Borgia.[1]

The Orsini and Colonna in Rome.

The Duke's cavalry encamped on Monte Mario, while his infantry fortified S. Onofrio and all the streets leading to the Borgo.[2] The Spanish cardinals, who treated him with greater reverence than they had formerly treated Alexander, were constantly with him in the palace.[3] Nothing was heard but the party cries of "Colonna!" "Orsini!" "Borgia!"

[1] Sabellicus, *Ennead*, xi. lib. ii., 1078. Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.* p. 32, ed. Venet. A. 1574.

[2] Giustinian's Despatch of August 24, 1503.

[3] *Et lui tiene per soi capellani*: Giustinian.

So terrible was the tumult that it seemed as if Rome itself must perish.[1] It was said that John Jordan also approached with troops and already lay encamped at Palo.

Caesar was lost if his diplomatic skill deserted him. His immediate task was to separate the Colonna from the Orsini. The Colonna had suffered less at his hands than their rivals, and the hereditary enmity of the two families had not been assuaged even by their common misfortunes. He offered the Colonna the surrender of their property, and Prospero accepted the offer, promising on his side to defend the Duke. The Colonna told themselves that the election of a pope favourable to the Borgia was still possible.[2] This alliance saved Caesar from his chief difficulty: utterly dismayed Fabio Orsini and Pitigliano yielded to the cardinals and foreign envoys, and withdrew by night to Mentana on August 24.

Caesar Borgia makes a treaty with the Colonna.

It now behoved Caesar to leave Rome, a step on which the Italian cardinals resolutely insisted. The Sacred College, which assembled in the house of Caraffa, had acquired a few thousand mercenaries,

[1] *Tantumque undique terroris in urbe fuit, ut actum de ea esse dijudicaretur*: Card. Aegidius, *Hist.*, xx., *saeculor.* Mscr.

[2] Guicciardini's statements are confirmed by letters in the Gaetani Archives. On August 25, 1503, Cardinal Cusentano, writing from the Vatican, exhorts the commune of Sermoneta—where Federigo Conti and the wife of Guglielmo Gaetani had stirred up a revolution—not to be false to their Duke, the little Rodrigo; Caesar and Prospero were allies: *vagliono opprimere questi Orsini.* Rodrigo was affianced to one of the Colonna; and a Pope favourable to the Borgia would be elected. The same day Prospero wrote to the same commune: not to rebel, but to release Conti and Guglielmo's wife.

and Rome had placed itself under the protection of the ambassadors of Maximilian, Spain, France and Venice. These ministers repaired to the Duke on August 25. They found him surrounded by Spanish cardinals, dressed and lying on a couch. They required him to leave the Vatican; he refused on the score that he was ill and only safe in the palace. They offered him a dwelling in S. Angelo; he asked, however, that the fortress should be garrisoned by his own troops. The envoys of France and Spain found his demand reasonable; for the one power was on good terms with him, the other was seeking to gain his adherence.[1] Negotiations were carried on as with an independent prince; he was still Duke of the Romagna, he still commanded more than 9000 soldiers and other troops in Umbria; an alliance with him in the Neapolitan war was still an important matter. He had plenty of money, especially in the bank of Alessandro Spanocchi, who was his treasurer. Prospero strove to beguile him to enter Gonsalvo's service, and the French also made overtures to him. To the great dismay of Prospero and the Spanish cardinals, he decided in favour of France, whose army was in the neighbourhood. Through the intervention of Cardinal Sanseverino, he entered into a formal treaty with Grammont, the French ambassador, in which he promised to unite his troops to the French army, to be in all things subservient to the will of the King, that is

He makes a defensive treaty with France, Sept. 1, 1503.

[1] Giustinian's despatch of August 25. Giustinian at first believed that Caesar's illness was feigned, but afterwards admitted that it was genuine.

to say, by his influence over the Spanish cardinals to procure the election of the Cardinal of Rouen. In return he received from France the assurance of protection for himself and all his possessions.[1] The French King, so to speak, hoped to plunder his protégé by inducing him to surrender the cities of the Romagna in return for promised compensation in Naples.

On September 1 Caesar formed a compact with the College of Cardinals. He pledged himself to leave Rome within three days, and Prospero was to do likewise. Lucas de Rainaldis, Maximilian's orator, and Francesco de Rojas, the Spanish envoy, pledged themselves as sureties that during the vacancy of the Sacred Chair neither Caesar, the Colonna, nor the Spanish army would advance within ten miles of Rome. The Venetian and French envoys undertook the same responsibility for France and the Orsini. In Rome it was forbidden to inflict any injury on the Duke of the Romagna under pain of death.

Alexander's son quitted the city in ill-humour. Behind him lay the audacious dreams of an Italian

[1] *Capitoli accordati fra il R^mo Card. de S. Severino li sgri di Trans, de Gramont, lo episcopo de Renes Cancelier, et general de Napoli pro nomine del X^mo. Re de Franza da una parte, et l'alto et possente sigr. mons. el Duca de Valentinoes et de Romagna Cavalier dell' ordine del Re nro. Signor dell' altra el primo zorno di Sept.* 1503. *Trans.*—This copy of the treaty is found at the end of Giustinian's despatches. They also give a letter of Grammont to the Doge, written from Campagnano, the headquarters of the Marquis of Mantua, on September 7, in which he announces the treaty with Caesar, and begs the Doge to aid Caesar in the recovery of all his possessions.

Kingdom; before him stood little else than the gloomy future of an outlaw. On September 2 his artillery departed by way of Trastevere; he himself was carried out of the Vatican in a litter draped in black and borne by halberdiers. He was protected by cavalry, and the envoys of Spain, France and Maximilian formed an escort of honour. Cardinal Cesarini awaited him outside the Porta Viridaria, but Caesar would not speak to him. The meeting with Prospero at the Ponte Molle was also abandoned, since neither he nor Caesar trusted the other. The Duke chose the road over Monte Mario to Nepi, where, close to the French army, he made his dwelling in the fortress which still obeyed him.[1] He was accompanied by his mother Vanozza, his brother the Prince of Squillace, and Cardinal Sanseverino. He wished to take his sister-in-law Sancia also with him, but the coquettish lady preferred to follow Prospero to his castle, whither she willingly allowed herself to be carried.[2]

Caesar Borgia withdraws to Nepi.

The cardinals were now able to turn their thoughts to the papal election. On September 3 began Alexander's belated obsequies, for which Caesar had given 18,000 scudi from the plunder of his father's treasures. While the requiem for the soul of the

[1] The army lay at Campagnano. Despatch of Beltrando Costabili of September 3, in the Archives of Modena. Priuli, *Diario delle cose Venete* (MS.), asserts that Caesar retired to Nepi with all his treasures, even the silver statues of the twelve apostles which had belonged to Innocent VIII.

[2] As Giustinian says, to console him for his banishment from Rome; Despatch of September 2, 1503.

dead was sung in S. Peter's, the Romans gave vent to their hatred in innumerable epigrams.[1]

The cardinals arrive for the Conclave.

The cardinals were already arriving for the Conclave; some of them from long exile. On September 3 Julian Rovere returned after a banishment of almost ten years, Fracasso Sanseverino having safely conducted him with an escort of lancers as far as Ronciglione. Colonna, who had remained five years in hiding in Sicily, arrived on the 6th. On the 9th the Romans received Riario in triumph. Ascanio Sforza, Aragon and Amboise, the Cardinal of Rouen, made their entry on September 10. Lewis XII. now hoped to set the papal crown on the head of his ambitious minister, and thus to become ruler of Italy. Amboise had therefore brought with him from the French court Ascanio (who had been released from the tower of Bourges), reckoning on his gratitude and his vote. He also believed that the influence of his friend Caesar would have secured him the suffrages of the Spanish cardinals. He had expressly commanded the French army to remain between Nepi and Isola.[2] By means of its menacing

[1] I quote only the following:—

Sextus Alexander periit: quo sospite numquam
Castum se vidit Roma habuisse torum.
Sextus Alexander periit: quo sospite nemo
Tutus ab insidiis dives in urbe fuit.
Sextus Alexander periit: quo sospite bello
Italiam laceram sensit uterque polus.

Sextus Alexander jacet hic: condunter et una
Que coluit luxus, lis, dolus, arma, neces.

[2] Belcarius, ix. 273. Le Gendre, *Vie du Card. d'Amboise.* Rouen, 1724, i. 243.

proximity, if not by force, he hoped to compel the College of Cardinals to elect him. But his reception in Rome was discouraging. No one paid him any heed, while every house was illuminated on Ascanio's return to his palace. The Sacred College obliged Amboise to forbid the approach of the French troops, who now came in numbers to the city.

In perfect freedom thirty-eight cardinals assembled in Conclave in the Vatican on September 16. They first safeguarded their rights by the terms of election; they also promised to reform Church discipline, to convoke a Council in two years, and to undertake a war against the Turks. Stress of circumstances hastened the process of election. Italians and Spaniards united against Amboise and agreed to elect a pope, who would tide over the crisis. French policy suffered a crushing defeat, for, on September 22, the Cardinal of Siena was proclaimed as Pius III. Conclave.

Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, son of a sister of Pius II., who had been a cardinal-deacon for forty-three years, was a man of blameless life, but suffered from gout and old age. He was reputed an opponent of the French policy, but not wholly an enemy of Alexander VI. Rovere raised him as a puppet to the papal throne, in order that he might soon ascend it himself. The French army had now no longer any pretext for delaying its march to Naples. Through the Marquis of Mantua, Pius III. succeeded in stipulating that the troops should cross Ponte Molle on September 26 and skirt the walls of the city. Pius III. Pope, 1503.

Caesar meanwhile still remained at Nepi, where the French could no longer protect him, while Alviano, hurrying from Venice and burning for revenge, already approached with troops.[1] Caesar consequently begged and obtained leave from Pius III. to return to Rome. "I never believed," said the Pope to the orator of Ferrara, "that I could feel sympathy for the Duke, but I feel it deeply. The Spanish cardinals intercede for him, and tell me that he is very ill and cannot recover. He wishes to come and die in Rome, and I have allowed him."[2] The Duke's position grew worse every day. Several of his cities had already revolted and recalled their former masters. In August Urbino, Camerino, Sinigaglia rose, and were soon followed by Pesaro and Fano. Piombino, Città di Castello and Perugia received their old rulers. The Baglioni and Alviano collected troops there, while in the Patrimony Orsini and Savelli expelled the former adherents of the Borgia. Had Caesar been a general like Piccinino or Sforza, he would have thrown himself on the Romagna which still remained faithful, and have founded a dynasty there. But he had risen by means of Alexander's power and

[1] Without the Doge's knowledge Alviano had hastened in disguise to Umbria, where he occupied Todi. Sabellicus, xii. lib. ii., 1078.

[2] Beltrando Costabili to Duke Ercole, October 2; Archives of Modena. In the Gonzaga Archives I found letters from Caesar to the Marquis of Mantua, the generalissimo of the French army, who was then dwelling at Campagnano. He accredits a confidential agent to the Marquis: *Dat. Nepete*, xv., *Sept.* 1503. On September 17 he sends him hounds. To the same Marquis Jofré Borgia recommends some of his brother Caesar's soldiers who had been robbed by the French.

money, and fortune and energy deserted him on the death of his father. His fall proves that he was not the man Machiavelli believed him to be.

He had left a part of his mercenaries under Ludovico of Mirandola and Alessandro Trivulzio with the French. With the remainder, 250 horse and 500 infantry, he entered Rome on October 3, to entrust his cause to the new pope. He was accompanied by his mother and brother,[1] and made his abode in the palace of the Cardinal of S. Clemente.

Caesar Borgia returns to Rome, Oct. 3, 1503.

Pius III. wished to terrify the tyrants, who were again becoming powerful in the State of the Church, and therefore protected Caesar. When Baglioni and Orsini attacked some places in Umbria, he forbade them to take in hand anything against his "beloved son Caesar Borgia of France, Duke of Romagna and Valence, and Gonfaloniere of the Church."[2] He sent briefs in his favour to the Romagna, where the Venetians had garrisoned several cities on Alexander's death. Spaniards still formed the guard in the Vatican; and even the same provost still commanded in S. Angelo. These facts raised the ire of Rovere and the Venetian ambassadors.[3]

Pius III. was crowned on October 8. He was so feeble that he could not stand upright, and the procession to the Lateran had to be given up. Two

[1] *A dì 3 de Ottob. revenne lo Duca Valentino in Roma ammalato—con la madre madonna Vanozza.* Mscr. Branca de Telini.

[2] Brief addressed to Perugia, September 25, 1503: *Archiv. Stor. ital.*, xii. 2, 595.

[3] Reports in Sanuto, v. 79, etc. On October 7 the Venetian orator complained to the Pope, who said, in great distress: *li havemo promesso, ma in male promissis non est servanda fides.*

Reconciliation between the Orsini and Colonna.

days afterwards Alviano, Giampolo Baglione and several Orsini appeared; and John Jordan soon followed. The Orsini, hitherto in the service of France, were so indignant at the treaty concluded by Rouen with their hereditary enemy that they now joined the Colonna. They declared themselves on the side of Spain and took pay from Gonsalvo; John Jordan alone refused to desert France.[1] The alliance of the hostile houses, which had been brought about by the Venetian ambassador and concluded by the instrumentality of Alviano, was proclaimed in Rome on October 12 to the dismay of Caesar, who was thus left without support. The Orsini loudly demanded that he should be brought to trial, and he sought refuge with Cardinal Amboise. John Jordan, a man who could never be trusted to act consistently, now offered to keep his former deadly enemy in safety at Bracciano, and thereby roused the anger of the other Orsini to such a degree, that they contemplated throwing their relation into prison, a step which was counselled by his own wife.[2] He consequently abandoned the Duke, but not France. Caesar, entirely deserted, resolved to fly to Rocca Soriana or across the sea; but the Orsini guarded every exit from Rome. Even Mottino, captain of Alexander's galleys at Ostia, had pledged himself to surrender the Duke to Alviano, should he try to escape by sea. Caesar's

[1] Carpesanus, *Comment. suor. tempor.*, apud Martene, *Vet. M. Ampl. Collectio*, v., 1527.

[2] *La quale offeriva dar in man loro la fortezza* (Bracciano)—*per—provedder alle pazzie del marito.* Giustinian's Despatch, October 15, 1503.

forces dwindled day by day, Gonsalvo having proclaimed that every vassal of Spain should hasten to his flag upon pain of death. Celebrated captains such as Girolamo Olorico and Don Ugo Moncada consequently quitted the Duke's service.[1] On the morning of October 15 he attempted to escape by the Porta Viridaria, but two companies of his infantry immediately deserted and retired to S. Peter's. With only seventy horsemen he was forced to turn, since the Orsini stood in his way. Alviano, Fabio, Renzo da Ceri now attacked the Borgo, where they laid fire to the Porta Torrione, in order to force a way into the Vatican. The Spanish cardinals hurriedly dragged the fugitive, his daughter, and the little Duke of Nepi and Sermoneta, through the corridor to S. Angelo. As a furious pack of hounds watch a wild animal, the Orsini watched Caesar in his prison, from which the Spanish cardinals hoped to procure his escape in the disguise of a monk. All his possessions in the palace were already pillaged, partly by Alviano, partly by the officer who guarded him, a nephew of the Pope. In the gloomy fortress which had echoed to the last sighs of Astorre and so many other victims, Alexander's son now sat with the ruins of his house; and here, on October 18, he received the crushing news of the death of his last protector Pius III.

Caesar's sorry position in Rome.

Death of Pius III., Oct. 18, 1503.

[1] Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, p. 32.

2. ROVERE HOLDS NEGOTIATIONS WITH CAESAR RESPECTING THE PAPAL ELECTION—JULIUS II. POPE, NOVEMBER 1, 1503 — THE VENETIANS IN THE ROMAGNA—CAESAR'S DESIGN OF GOING THITHER—DUKE GUIDOBALDO IN ROME—NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING CAESAR'S FORTRESSES — HIS MEETING WITH GUIDOBALDO—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN NAPLES—CAESAR'S FLIGHT FROM OSTIA TO NAPLES; HIS CAPTURE AT THE HANDS OF GONSALVO, AND HIS END—MACHIAVELLI AND CAESAR BORGIA.

Julian Rovere, candidate for the Papacy.

There could be little doubt as to the result of the new election, for the universal voice designated Julian Rovere, the strongest spirit in the Sacred College, as the only possible Pope. The hopes of Cardinal Amboise sank before such a candidate. Venice zealously supported Julian's election, the Italians unanimously demanded it, and of the support of the Spaniards alone was he doubtful. In order to gain them he condescended to negotiations with Caesar. True, that on the death of Pius III. the Orsini, with the utmost impatience, demanded the head of the criminal, but Julian obliged the College of Cardinals to compel them to leave Rome with Giampolo and Alviano. He made a treaty with Caesar and the Spaniards, in which he promised that as soon as he became Pope he would appoint Borgia Gonfaloniere of the Church.[1] He now gave

[1] Burkard, October 29. *Et vice versa Dux papae, et promiserunt omnes Card. Hispani dare votum pro Card. S.P. ad Vinc. ad papatum.* According to Priuli (i. 214) it was believed that the Spanish cardinals had received 150,000 ducats for their votes.

him hopes of retaining possession of the Romagna, and even proposed the betrothal of Caesar's little daughter, Carlotta, to his own nephew, Francesco Maria Rovere, Prefect of the city.[1] Thus Caesar Borgia aided the Cardinal, whom his father had so bitterly hated, to the Papacy—an irony of fate, at which both must have blushed. In more favourable circumstances Alexander's son would have done anything to prevent Julian becoming Pope and to promote the election of Amboise, but he had now fallen so low that he thought only of his own rescue under the magnanimous protection of his bitterest enemy.[2]

On the last day of October Julian Rovere already appeared in Conclave as Pope. It was not even necessary to close the doors, for as early as the morning of November 1 the new Pope was proclaimed and greeted with rejoicings in Rome. Nevertheless, like Alexander VI., he also ascended the Sacred Chair with the aid of simony. "There is now no difference between the Papacy and the Sultanship; the dignity falls to the highest bidder," wrote the Venetian ambassador in Rome to his government.[3] Julius II. Pope, 1503–1513.

The name of Julius II. shines in the history of the State of the Church and Italy as that of the

[1] Guicciardini, vi. 38. Machiavelli, *Legazione alla Corte di Roma*, Report of November 4, 1503.

[2] Machiavelli (*Princ.* vii.) censures as Caesar's only mistake the fact that he allowed Rovere instead of Amboise to be elected Pope. Of Julius II. he says: *accendo a riconoscere da lui buona parte del Papato: Legazione*, November 11, 1503.

[3] *Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian*, ed. Villari, ii. 255.

most energetic priest-king who ever sat on the throne of the Vatican.[1] Like Sixtus IV. he was of humble birth, and had lived in lowly circumstances until his uncle drew him from obscurity. He had been cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli since 1471, and had afterwards received the bishoprics of Carpentras, Avignon, Verdun, Lausanne, Viviers, Albano, the Sabina and Ostia. He was consequently reputed the wealthiest of the cardinals. He was sixty years old,[2] was entirely a man of the fifteenth century, to which he belonged and from which he derived the strength of will, impatience in action, and magnificence of plans and ideas which he brought into the new age. The school of a changeful life would have developed him into an accomplished statesman had the fiery energy which hurried him onwards allowed him time for reflection. He was proud and ambitious, acutely self-conscious and passionate to frenzy, but never mean or petty; a man of powerful and mighty aspirations. He inherited much of the formidable nature of his uncle Sixtus, the same mind to rule, the same haughty spirit; but in Julius the rude Rovere character was ennobled. Men of his type do not easily lend themselves to dissimulation and Julius II. was esteemed an open character. Even Alexander VI. acknowledged that amid a thousand

[1] Giustinian (Despatch of October 31) believed that at first Julius II. wished to call himself Sixtus V.

[2] Julian, son of Raffaello Rovere, the brother of Sixtus IV. and of Teodora Manerola, was born at Albizzola near Savona in 1443 *di vilissima condizione*, as Vettori says (*Il sacco di Roma*, ed. Milanesi, p. 457).

vices in this Rovere he had discovered one virtue—love of truth. He possessed the qualities of a great monarch, none of those of a priest. Of theological tastes he had no more than the Borgia or the Medici. His life was no less worldly and no less vicious than that of the majority of the prelates of his time.[1] Thrust out of his Roman career in a ten years' exile, he had served the interests of France and had sacrificed nobler considerations to his blind desire for revenge. He it was who, in order to overthrow Alexander VI., passionately urged Charles VIII.'s invasion and thereby entailed endless misery on his native country. The same Rovere had then made approaches to the Borgia and had helped to raise Caesar to power when the change of French policy required this *volte-face*.

This Caesar, with whom he had formerly associated at the court of Lewis XII. as with a French noble, was now a suppliant in his power, and at the same time the man who, in the very act of falling, had handed him the tiara. He hated without despising him, for as little as Machiavelli did Julius measure the sins of the bold upstart by a moral standard. It was necessary, however, that he should free himself from all associations with the Borgia. The fortresses of Forli, Cesena, Forlimpopoli, Imola and Bertinoro, which were commanded by his Spanish castellans, still obeyed Caesar, while the civic communes had returned to the Church or their former masters. Alexander's son defended

[1] Vettori (*ibid.* 459); *e benchè fusse summerso ne' vizj, si riposò alla fine in pace, e fu tenuto un grande e buono papa.*

the possession of these securities and utilised them in his negotiations with the Pope, who demanded their surrender but could not seize them by force. Julius II., therefore, with marks of good-will, gave the Duke an abode in the Appartamento Borgia, where he allowed him to hold his court. It was immediately said that this pope also was favouring Alexander's son and issuing briefs to the Romagna for his protection.[1]

The Venetians in the Romagna.

The Venetians hastened to enter on the inheritance of the Borgia in this province. They seized their prey without hesitation; they were already in occupation of Ravenna; they bought Rimini from Pandolfo Malatesta; they besieged Faenza and made attempts on Cesena. Julius sent protests to the Doge. He told the envoy Giustinian that the Romagna was the property of the Church and would never become Venetian. He angrily rejected all the proposals of the republic. He even appealed to the protection of France and Maximilian.[2] In his perplexity, he contemplated making use of Caesar, sending him to the Romagna, and for the time leaving him there as vicar. The prisoner believed in the sincerity of the favour of the Pope,

[1] The Venetian ambassador complained to the Pope. He told him: *non dubitasse per che non faria breve niuno—lo lasseremo andar via con quanto in so malora ha robato di la chiesa. E che voria le terre di la chiesa ha in romagna.* Venetian report, as early as November 2, in *Diar.* of Sanuto, v. 182. *Legazione* of Machiavelli. Giustinian writes similarly to the Doge on November 9: *havendoli ex necessitate promesso molte cose, de le qual però non attendera se non quelle che non importeranno molto—.*

[2] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, v. 105, etc.

who in flattery called him his beloved son. "In Julius," he said, "I have found a new father!" So necessary is the moral impulse to human nature, that the belief in loyalty cannot be entirely extinguished even in the most corrupt.[1] Caesar still found men who clung to him sincerely, and thereby made the discovery—important to a psychologist—that these were precisely those men whom in his prosperous days he had rewarded for real services.[2] Full of confidence, he offered to surrender his fortresses to the Pope, if, as soon as Venice was driven back, he might remain there as Duke. Julius, however, declined the proposal, probably not so much from dread of breaking his word as that he did not wish to bind himself for the future.

Caesar Borgia holds negotiations with Florence.

Caesar at this time had frequent conversations with Machiavelli, the orator of the Florentines

[1] Caesar thanked the Imolesi for their fidelity: *de presto ce ritrovaremo con vuj in tale hordine che senza dilatione li stati nostri serano reduti in la solita unione. E questo mediante la santita prefata in la quale meritamente stimamo sea per noi resuscitata la fel. mem. di Papa Alexandro. . . . Date rome in palatio Apostolico*, November 7, 1503. *Cesar Agabitus.* (*Diar.* of Sanuto, v. 26.)—On November 10 the Pope begs the Florentines to allow free passage to the Duke, who, as Vicar of the Church, was going to retake possession of his estates. *In quo nobis rem gratissimam facietis. Ducem enim ipsum propter ejus insignes virtutes et praeclara merita paterno affectu et caritate praecipua complectimur.* Archives of Florence, *Atti pubbl.*, cclxii. According to Machiavelli (*Legazione*) the Pope was very glad that the Florentines refused the safe-conduct. There is no sign of his vaunted sincerity in this case.

[2] *Caesarem Borgiam—dixisse ferunt, tum cum esset in custodia palatina detentus, nullos fideliores amicos cognovisse, quam eos in quos beneficia propter virtutem contulisset.* Paulus Cortesius, *De Cardinalatu*, p. 101.

in Rome. To him he bewailed his misfortunes and complained that he had been betrayed by France. He wished to persuade Florence of the advantage of an alliance with him. On November 18 he gave the Bishop Ennio Filonardo of Veroli instructions for the Signory, in the course of which he said that without Florentine assistance he could not keep Piombino and his other states, defended his former policy, offered himself as captain to the Florentines, and asked them for troops for the conquest of the Romagna; in case of their compliance, Ferrara, Bologna and Mantua, in dread of Venice, would form a league with them; he himself intended to come to Leghorn and would there await the Signory's decision.[1] The Pope sanctioned the plan, but would not allow Florence to give the Duke a safe-conduct; Julius wished to be rid of him; the Florentines were to do the rest.[2] It was necessary that the prisoner should acquire troops, and his lieutenant Don Micheletto Coreglia still commanded a force for him in Rocca Soriana.

Caesar Borgia in Ostia.

On November 19 the Pope allowed Caesar to retire with a troop of mercenaries to Ostia, where two vessels belonging to him lay under command of Mottino, and where he was to embark for Leghorn. The Pope, as Giustinian informed the Doge, desired Caesar's fall, but wished that it should be

[1] This remarkable document: *Instrutione de quanto in nome de lo Ill. Sig. Duca di romagna haveva ad tractar Ennio Vescovo di Veruli apresso la Exc. rep. de firenze*, is signed *Rome in palatio apostolico XVIII., Nov. MDIII.* (*Agapitus*), in the MS. diary of Marin Sanuto, v. 342.

[2] Machiavelli, *Legazione alla corte di Roma*, of November 20, 1503.

accomplished by others, and without any blame attaching to himself.[1] Scarcely had he gone, when, on November 20, Duke Guidobaldo, who had returned to his estates, appeared in Rome.[2] He demanded the surrender of Forli, where his enemy had deposited the spoils of Urbino, and at the same time the news arrived that Faenza was about to fall into the hands of the Venetians. Julius now regretted that he had declined Caesar's offers. He sent the Cardinals of Sorrento and Volterra to Ostia to demand the surrender of his fortresses, since they could not otherwise be saved from the Venetians. The Duke, in dismay, declined. If he consented, how then could he carry out his scheme against the Romagna? His refusal threw Julius into a rage; on November 26, the day of his coronation, he sent troops to Ostia and caused Caesar to be arrested and kept prisoner on board a French galley. The report at once arose that he had been thrown into the Tiber, and every one applauded the Pope. The prisoner meanwhile, in spite of his entreaties to spare him the disgrace, was brought to Rome.[3] He was conveyed by night in a boat, first to S. Paul's,

Is taken prisoner and brought back to Rome.

[1] *Chel Papa attende alla destruction del Duca, ma non vuol che para la cosa vegni da lui*: Giustinian, of November 17, 1503.

[2] After his unsuccessful attempt to reconquer his states, Guidobaldo had returned to Venice in January 1503. He left it on August 24. On August 18 he entered Urbino. On December 2, 1503, his wife also returned there. Letters in the Gonzaga Archives: Correspondence of Elisabetta Gonzaga.—On September 3, 1503, Giovanni Sforza writes to the Marquis of Mantua that he had re-entered Pesaro that morning amid the rejoicings of the people. *Ibid.*

[3] *Non li volesse far questa vergogna de far lo menare qua*: Beltrando Costabili to Ercole, November 28, Archives of Modena.

then to Magliana, and afterwards, on November 30, to Rome. Caesar had reason to expect imprisonment and death, and indeed Guidobaldo and John Jordan advised the Pope to make an end of him.[1] But Julius gave him a friendly reception and lodged him with honour in the Vatican. He even persuaded Guidobaldo to grant him the interview which he desired.

Caesar's meeting with the Duke, towards whom he had acted so treacherously, took place in the Vatican on December 2. In this painful scene the son of Alexander showed himself utterly abject and undignified, while his enemy proved himself the noble character that Bembo and Castiglione have described. Carrying his hat in his hand, Caesar Borgia humbly entered the room where the Duke was seated. He approached with repeated genuflexions; Guidobaldo bared his head, went to meet him, and asked him to be seated. Caesar feigned heartfelt repentance, palliated his crimes on the score of his youth, his evil counsellors, the intrigues and malicious character of Alexander VI. He enlarged on this subject, hurled imprecations on the soul of his own father and on all who had encouraged his enterprise against Urbino, of which he himself had not even dreamt. He would surrender all the spoils taken from the Duke with the exception of the Trojan tapestry, which he had already presented to Amboise, and other things already scattered through the Romagna. The answer was brief and to the point; quickly dismissed and fully enlightened,

[1] The same to the same. Despatch of December 1.

Caesar remained in no little perplexity—an example of the vicissitudes of fortune that confirmed the saying of the Scriptures: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat and exalted them of low degree."[1]

He gave the required orders concerning the surrender of the fortresses of Cesena and Forli; but Don Diego Ramiro, the Castellan of Cesena, forthwith ordered the messenger to be hanged, asserting that the Duke was not free. The indignant Pope wished to throw Caesar into the deepest dungeon; he imprisoned him, however, in the Torre Borgia. Panic seized on all the adherents and relations of Alexander VI. All more or less conscious of guilt feared an enquiry into the crimes of the past. The cardinals Francesco Ramolini of Sorrento and Ludovico Borgia escaped one night to Marino. The prisoner heard that even the last remnant of his troops was dispersed in Umbria; Baglione had attacked them, and Micheletto, seized by the Florentines, had been surrendered to Rome at the Pope's wish and brought to S. Angelo.

Caesar's treaty with the Pope.

On January 29, 1504, Caesar, deprived of his last stay by the departure of the Cardinal of Rouen, signed a treaty which was followed by the promulgation of a bull. He was to surrender Bertinoro, Cesena and Forli within forty days, during which time he was to remain under the custody of Cardinal Carvajal in Ostia; was then to go where he willed; should he fail to keep his promise, life-long imprison-

[1] Report of Ser. Nicol. Sanson of Urbino in Ugolino, *Duchi d'Urbino*, ii. 524. Beltrando's despatch gives the date as December 2.

ment awaited him in Rome. In vain the Venetian ambassador strove to dissuade the Pope from making this treaty by representing that the Duke was a dangerous man, that he was still wealthy, that his troops still adhered to him, and that, once restored to liberty, he might prove formidable to the Pope himself. Venice still feared an enterprise of Caesar against the Romagna, and Giustinian urged the Pope to surrender this province to the republic as a vicariate. Julius II., however, said to the envoy, "I would then do more harm than Alexander VI. did, who gave this territory to his son; for I would surrender it to a power, from which I could never recover it."[1]

Defeat of the French at Naples, Dec. 1503.

On February 16, filled with suspicion and dread, Caesar set sail from Ostia. He determined to invoke the protection of Spain, since he could no longer rely on that of France. The campaign in Naples had reached its disastrous end; on December 28, 1503, the French had been defeated by Gonsalvo at Sujo on the Liris, when Piero Medici was drowned in the river, happily for his house, which during the lifetime of this degenerate scion would never have returned to Florence.[2] He had married Alfonsina, daughter of Roberto Orsini, Count of Tagliacozzo and Alba, and left behind the young Lorenzo as his heir.[3] Gaeta fell on January 1, and the remains

[1] Giustinian's Despatches of January 20 and 26, 1504.

[2] This is said by Ammirato, *Opuscoli, Ritratto di Piero de Medici.* The monument of this Piero may be seen in Monte Casino, where it was erected by Cosimo de' Medici in 1552.

[3] Alfonsina was able to return to Florence, where she married her daughter Clarice to Filippo Strozzi. The estate belonging to the

of the army of Lewis XII. left Naples, which now remained in the possession of Spain. Crowds of Frenchmen came as fugitives to Rome, where the streets were filled with their piteous figures.

Gonsalvo received Caesar's messengers. They demanded a safe-conduct and that a vessel should be sent to Naples to serve under the Spanish flag. The Viceroy solemnly promised to grant their desires. Carvajal released his compatriot on the arrival of the tidings that Imola, Cesena and Bertinoro were surrendered. The impatient Duke took horse at Ostia on April 19, and rode nine miles along the coast towards Nettuno until he met the Spanish vessels, which bore him and his shattered fortunes to treacherous Naples. There he made his abode in the house of his uncle Ludovico Borgia.[1] This cardinal, as we have said, had fled to Naples, persuaded to the step by Francesco Ramolini, who, accused of complicity in poisoning Cardinal Michiel in the time of Alexander VI., had secretly fled to escape the trial instituted in Rome.[2]

Gonsalvo received his protégé with honours on April 28, listened to his plans and encouraged them. He promised to send him with vessels to the relief of Pisa, and allowed him to acquire troops. The

Orsini, which she received as a marriage portion, was S. Angelo, near Tivoli (Empulum, *Massa Apollonii*), afterwards called Castel Madama from Madama Margareta of Austria, the wife of Alessandro de' Medici.

[1] Giustinian's Despatches of April 20 and May 15, 1504.

[2] I have taken this fact from the instructions of Julius II. for his nuncio in Spain, Rome, March 14, 1504 (*Bibl. Marciana*, Lat. Class., ix. Cod. 42).

Duke determined to sail on May 27, 1504. On his departure Gonsalvo repeatedly embraced him in the Castel Nuovo, wished him success in his undertaking, and then dismissed him, but scarcely had Caesar quitted the room when he was arrested by guards in the name of the King of Spain.[1] In this moment the son of Alexander received the reward of his thousandfold treachery. The world heard with approval of Gonsalvo's perfidy; but it stains the fame of a heroic life and was the cause of bitter remorse to the Great Captain when in after times his own King rewarded him with disgrace.[2] . For the rest, the Pope himself had urgently desired Caesar's arrest. It appeared that the fortress of Forli had not been surrendered. Julius consequently severely reproached Carvajal for having permitted his release. He rejoiced on hearing the news; he now hoped to make sure of the Romagna. Many enemies of the Borgia, Cardinal Riario especially, who had lived in constant dread of death, breathed freely. Micheletto, who remained shut up in the Torre di Nona, was brought to trial. This man, a bravo in Caesar's service, was required to give an account of all the murders that he had committed at his master's behest.[3]

Gonsalvo sends Caesar a prisoner to Spain.

His brother, the Prince of Squillace, was also made a prisoner in Naples, but was soon released. Giustinian's Despatch of May 31, 1504.

[2] De Thou calls the treachery practised by Gonsalvo *laudabilis perfidia*. *Historiar*, i., vi.

[3] *Et è interrogato della morte di assai persone dei quali quei di più conto sono el Duca de Gandia, el sig. de Camerino, e due suo fioli, che furono appicati tra Arimano e la Catolica, el sigr. de Faenza, e suo fratello bastardo, el Duca de Bisegli, el sigr. Bernardin de Sermoneta, el vescovo di Chagli, e molti altri, tra quali è nominato etiam D.*

On receiving the news from Gonsalvo that the son of Alexander was in his power, King Ferdinand also had ordered his arrest at the hands of the Viceroy. It was said in Rome that several people at the court of Madrid demanded Caesar's punishment. It was not forgotten that he had forsaken Spain and gone over to the French on his father's death. Queen Isabella was particularly incensed against him. The unhappy widow of the murdered Duke of Gandia dwelt at her court and demanded justice, as did many other persons whom Caesar had injured, more especially the relations of Don Alfonso of Biseglia, who had been strangled by his orders.[1] Gonsalvo kept his prisoner in strict custody; he allowed him only one page, deprived him of a fair friend who accompanied him, and forbade all access to his presence.[2] Instead of sailing to Pisa, the son of Alexander, in accordance with orders received from Madrid, was placed on board a vessel at Ischia and

Agnolo, olim fratello del q. m. Zuan da Venexia. Giustinian's Despatch of May 31, 1504. It is unintelligible how and why, in spite of all, Micheletto was released in April 1506, in order to enter the service of the Florentines as *capitano di guardia del contado e distretto di Firenze*, with thirty mounted archers and fifty foot soldiers. Villari, *Machiavelli*, ii. 488. Note to the official letter of September 15, 1508, from Firenzuola, which this bravo wrote to the secretary of Machiavelli, and which Villari has printed as a curiosity. It is signed *don Michel de Orella* (more usually *Corella*).

[1] Giustinian's Despatch of May 30, 1504. Others, he says, believe this arrest took place *per far star il Pont. più respettivo.—Par ch'el Pont. fazi assai careze all' Orator Spagnolo, e se mostra di voler esser tutto di quella Maestà, si judica fosse per indurli alla morte del preditto Valentino.*

[2] The same, July 29, 1504. *L'è sta tolto una Dama, che prima l'havea con se, e prohibitoli el parlar con alcuno.*

conveyed to Spain under the escort and protection of his noble-minded enemy Prospero Colonna. He landed at Valencia at the end of September 1504, and was thence taken to the Castle of Chinchilla near Albacete.[1] Caesar Borgia thus returned to the land from which his family had come forth to tyrannise over Rome, to fill Italy with horrors, and to leave behind a name accursed in the history of the Church.

He remained two years in the prison of Medina del Campo in Castile, whither he was brought from Chinchilla. He implored Lewis XII. to obtain his release, but received no answer. His sister Lucrezia Duchess of Ferrara repeatedly interceded with the King of Spain and the Pope in his behalf. Finally, at the beginning of December 1506, he escaped to Navarre, where his brother-in-law Jean d'Albret was King. On December 7, from Pampelona he announced his flight to the Marquis of Mantua, his only well-wisher among the Italian princes.[2] His secretary Federigo, whom he sent to Italy with letters to the Marquis and his sister, had probably been privately instructed to see what stroke might be risked for his master there. Pope Julius caused the envoy to be arrested in Bologna. Caesar soon after fell fighting in the service of Navarre against some rebellious vassals

Death of Caesar Borgia, March 12, 1507.

[1] Charles Yriarte, *César Borgia, sa vie, sa captivité, sa mort.* Paris, 1889, vol. ii. 215. This publication completes the life of Caesar during his Spanish imprisonment with the help of some documents previously unknown.

[2] See the letter in my work, *Lucrezia Borgia.*

before Viana on March 12, 1507.[1] His mother remained unmolested in Rome, where she expiated her past in so-called works of piety, and died at the age of seventy-six on November 26, 1518.[2] The descendants of his brother, Don Juan, remained in Spain as Dukes of Gandia; those of Jofré in Naples as Princes of Squillace.

The hero of crime in Italy in the age of the Renascence survives in the recollection of mankind as the type of demon incarnate. He is endowed with the grand characteristic of forcefulness, so that our horror is usually tempered with respect for the vigour, which in other circumstances might have made of him a man, such as his adventurous compatriots Cortez and Pizarro. Machiavelli gives him credit for large-mindedness and lofty aims, and these are undoubtedly the traditional Italian epithets employed to describe every arrogant and

[1] He was buried in S. Maria de Viana. The following inscription was placed on his monument:—

Aqui yace en poca tierra
El que toda le temia:
En este vulto se encierra,
El que la paz y la guerra
En su mano la tenia.
O tu! que vas a mirar
Cosas dignas de notar,
Si lo mayor es mas digno,
Aqui acabas tu camino,
De aqui te puedes tornar—

in Gonzalo Ilescas, *Historia pontifical y catolica*, ii. 183. The monument has disappeared: see Yriarte, *l.c.*, p. 277 *sq.* Caesar Borgia left a daughter named Louise, who married Louis de Tremouille, and afterwards Philip of Bourbon.

[2] See my work, *Lucrezia Borgia.*

tyrannical character even in the smallest sphere of power.[1] The son of an infamous Pope undoubtedly aimed at great things, no less than at the royal crown of Italy, and apparently despised men so thoroughly that he even imagined, that since he was already bishop and cardinal, he could acquire the papal tiara. These monstrous designs, if really cherished, are scarcely more astounding than the later fantastic idea of the Emperor Maximilian, that he could make himself Pope.

Machiavelli and Caesar Borgia.

That in Cola di Rienzo Petrarch saw the hero of his ideal can never redound to the poet's dishonour; but the homage which Machiavelli has dedicated to the execrable Caesar Borgia still darkens the memory of the great founder of statecraft. The book of *The Prince*, as a product of experimental science applied to affairs of state, has no less claim to be regarded as the most terrible witness of the corrupt age to which it belonged than the historic figure of Caesar Borgia himself.[2] There is no stronger contrast than that between the *De Monarchia* of Dante, a treatise of ideal politics dedicated to the emperor who according to the poet's view was the God-

[1] *L'animo grande e l'intenzione alta*: *Principe*, vii.

[2] The book caused Machiavelli to be hated in Florence after the Medici were a second time overthrown; it was not forgotten, when he vainly endeavoured again to be made Secretary of State. *L'universale per conto del Principe l'odiava: ai ricchi pareva che quel suo Principe fosse stato un documento da insegnare al duca* (Lorenzo Medici) *tor loro la robba, a'poveri tutta la libertà: Lettere di Giambattista Busini a Bened. Varchi*, Florence, 1861, p. 84.

summoned Saviour of Italy, and *The Prince* of Machiavelli, dedicated to a petty and predatory Medici.[1] We may thereby measure the distance that the intellect had travelled from deductive scholasticism to inductive experience. Machiavelli's programme was condemned with theoretic indignation, but practically was eagerly accepted as a political gospel by popes, kings, and statesmen of Europe.[2] The denial of Dante's ideal of humanity avenged itself among the Italians by their incapacity for the reform of society. If the error of their long-cherished hopes concerning the mission of Henry VII., Cola, Lewis the Bavarian, Ladislaus of Naples, and even Charles VIII. is pardonable, because explicable by history, nothing so clearly demonstrates the depth of their moral and political misery as the fact that one of their greatest thinkers put forward Caesar Borgia as the model of the prince of his time. Machiavelli's *Principe* does not, like the *Politics* of Aristotle, institute an enquiry into the best state, but into the qualities and crimes which must be possessed and practised by a prince who is to govern a new state (*principe nuovo*). His prince in the main is not the absolute

[1] The intention of Leo X. of founding a state for Giuliano Medici in Parma and Modena inspired Machiavelli with the idea of his *Principe*; he wanted to dedicate the work to Giuliano after that Prince's death (1516), but dedicated it instead to Lorenzo Medici. Villari, *N. Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, 1881, ii. 365 f.

[2] *Un gran principe* (Frederick II. of Prussia) *lo biasimò colla penna e lo raccomandò colla spada*, says Corniani, *Letteratura Italiana*, ii. 236. It is the policy of cunning and force, of the fox and the lion, which has governed the world ever since. Machiavelli has only reduced it to a scientific dogmatism.

ideal of the regent, but the man in the given conditions of the Renascence. Since Italy was now utterly demoralised, she could only find her saviour in a despot, who would unscrupulously adopt any means to attain his end, that of exterminating not only secular but spiritual feudalism, and would found a modern system of monarchy, a national and united state. Machiavelli, who despaired of moral power in society, discovered this political grandeur in Borgia, and it hovered before his mind in his *Principe*.[1] But are we therefore justified in asserting that he believed a Caesar Borgia could ever be the founder of a united Italy? In this case Machiavelli must have lost all understanding of the conditions of power at the time, and especially of the nature of the Papacy. He hated it and the hierarchy as the source of the perpetual corruption and dismemberment of his native country. "We Italians," he said, "have to thank the Church and the priests that we have become irreligious and wicked, but they are guilty of a yet greater evil, which has been the cause of our ruin. It consists in the fact that the Church has kept and still keeps our country severed. In truth no country has ever been united or fortunate which did not obey a republic or a prince, as France and Spain do now. The reason, however, that Italy does not enjoy a

[1] In his work already mentioned Villari has made the most intelligent and profound researches concerning the significance of the *Principe* (vol. ii.), and there the reader will also find the complete bibliography of literature relating to Machiavelli, the foundation of which has been given by Rob. von Mohl (*Gesch. u. Literatur der Staatswissenschaften*, 1855–1858, vol. iii.).

like constitution, that she is not governed by a republic or a prince, is due solely to the Church. For the Church, having made her seat and possessed a temporal sovereignty here, was neither sufficiently powerful and strong to unite the rest of Italy under her sceptre, nor on the other hand weak enough to forfeit her temporal dominion by invoking in her dread a potentate who would defend her against the mighty ones of Italy."[1]

The disastrous condition of his country made Machiavelli, the one-sided politician, forgetful of the greatest creations of the intellect which were due to the individualisation of its cities and provinces, and which could never have arisen had Italy been already united in the twelfth century. The same disunion caused him to substitute for the Guelf theory of confederation the Ghibelline idea of monarchy, since only the latter could set aside the temporal Papacy, and shatter the spell of the Middle Ages. In this matter Machiavelli saw so clearly that he may be called a prophet. The progress of history has entirely confirmed his theory, for Italy has at length transformed herself into a monarchy with Rome for her capital, a city which, after having been held by the Pope for a thousand years, she has now wrested for herself. New and united Italy has arisen in accordance with Machiavelli's programme. But

[1] *Discorsi*, i. c. 12. The Roman Papacy, said Machiavelli, need only be transplanted to Switzerland, the country which, as regards religion and constitution, most closely resembles the ancient ideal, and it would be seen *che in poco tempo farebbero più disordine in quella provincia i costumi tristi di quella Corte, che qualunque altro accidente che in qualunque tempo vi potesse surgere.*

if in Caesar Borgia he saw only the instrument, who, in extirpating the tyrants in the State of the Church, and paving the way for its secularisation, might serve towards the future union of Italy, nevertheless in his time hopes such as these must necessarily have been shattered by the nature of all political and ecclesiastical conditions, especially since the Italians did not take part in the reformation of the Church. It was only the successors of Alexander VI. who reaped the benefits of Caesar's policy, namely the monarchical unity of the State of the Church. Julius II. could therefore already speak of the "extraordinary services" of the Duke of the Romagna. For he himself inherited the results of this policy, and founded the papal monarchy, which, as the same Machiavelli says, began to appear formidable even to France. Without averting foreign rule, with which on the contrary it formed an alliance, it checked the formation of an Italian national state for more than three hundred years. These facts may show whether even that, the best result of the crimes of the Borgia, was indeed worthy of praise.[1]

[1] The history of Caesar Borgia has been recently written by Edoardo Alvisi, *Cesar Borgia duca di Romagna*, Imola, 1878, a work which throws new documentary light on Caesar's career, particularly on his relations with the Romagna.

3. JULIUS II. AND THE CONDITION OF THE WORLD AND ITALY IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—THE STATE OF THE CHURCH AND ITS BARONS—THE NEPHEWS OF THE POPE—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—LEAGUE OF BLOIS, SEPTEMBER 1504—JOHN JORDAN MARRIED TO FELICE ROVERE, MARCANTONIO COLONNA TO LUCREZIA ROVERE—JULIUS SUBJUGATES PERUGIA, 1506—EXPEDITION AGAINST BOLOGNA—FALL OF THE BENTIVOGLI—TRIUMPH OF THE POPE.

When Julius II. succeeded to the government in the beginning of the great sixteenth century, the western world was in a state of violent revolution. Out of the ruins of the Middle Ages the ideas of the Roman Empire and the Roman Church towered like the last shattered columns of some magnificent temple. New life, new problems, and indeed all the influences that have formed and guided modern Europe for three hundred years rose on every side. New groups of races and states were formed. The modern idea of the state, the modern church showed their vigorous germs. Art and learning, trade and the traffic between nations sought new paths, developed new forms. America and India were drawn within the sphere of European life, and changed the ancient hereditary seats and channels of wealth and industry. States hitherto insignificant became powerful, those hitherto powerful tottered towards their fall. From Byzantium the formidable power of Islam rose menacingly over Europe, at the moment when German Imperial authority lay in

pitiable humiliation, the Catholic Church in pagan depravity, and when the entire West, issuing from the decaying system of the feudal Middle Ages, was about to work its way to a new organisation. It seemed as if some one must arise, to bring order into this seething world, as Charles the Great had arisen in former times. It is intelligible that in such an age an energetic pope may have indulged in the delusion that he was called to achieve such a political reform. If from the battlements of the Vatican he was able to cast a searching glance into the world, he must have acknowledged that all the currents of its movement tended towards Rome; Spain, Germany, France, Islam, yea all the forces of the learning of reform were driven by a historic impulse towards the land where the Papacy, the last firm stronghold of mediaevalism, the centre of culture hitherto, had its seat. Only with this Papacy and on this stage could the great decisive battle concerning the reform of the European intellect be fought out.

The fate of Italy already lay in the hands of the great powers, one of which ruled over Milan, the other over Naples. The German Empire, thrust back across the Alps, must sooner or later be involved in war with France on the banks of the Po. Venice was forced to ally herself with one or other of these powers, and naturally leaned towards the less dangerous, France, which she had already helped to the acquisition of Milan. Owing to the changes which had taken place since the expedition of Charles VIII., all the lesser states had become

helpless. The decaying republic of Florence, which since 1502 had been governed by Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere for life, exhausted its remaining strength in the war against Pisa. The independence of the cities of Perugia, Siena, Bologna, Lucca was merely a question of time. If, after the fall of the Borgia, several petty dynasts returned to their territories, they could no longer regain their former importance.

On this upheaved soil stood Julius II. with the firm intention of restoring the Church after the horrors of the Borgia, and of re-erecting the ecclesiastical State. This secular state appeared in the main to be a condition of the survival of the Papacy; it also appeared that new foundations were necessary to its position, which had been entirely changed since the great powers had forced their way into Italy. The Pope wished first to secure a firm footing in Rome, then to lay hands on greater things. Julius would have preferred to take over the entire heritage of the Borgia for the Church, but was obliged to consent to several restorations. He permitted the return of some of the tyrants who had been banished by Caesar Borgia, only to reduce their numbers afterwards. In May 1504 he ratified Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro in the investiture of his territories. As early as January 24 he reinstated Guglielmo Gaetani in Sermoneta by a bull in which he denounced Alexander VI. as a rapacious hypocrite.[1] He

Julius II. reinstates the Roman barons.

[1] Bull *Romani Pontificis Providentia, IX. Kal. Febr. A. II.* (Gaetani Archives). It is very neatly executed; the initial J contains



loathed the memory of his predecessor and made no secret of his hatred; and when he allowed a requiem mass to be celebrated, only did so because he could not infringe the ritual.[1] Francesco Colonna, whom Caesar had driven from Palestrina in May 1503, was ratified in possession of this town. The Colonna and Orsini reoccupied their fortresses. This Julius was unable to prevent, for only the smaller part of the estates of both these families were fiefs of the Church. Prospero and Fabrizio rejoiced, for they found their property enriched by stately fortresses built by Alexander, those for instance on the Algidus, in Subiaco, in Genazzano, in Frascati and in Nettuno.[2] But if the predecessors of Julius II. had leaned now to one, now to another family, he himself showed favour to none. Not a single member of any Roman house did he raise to the College of Cardinals.

With the requirements of nepotism he compounded in the happiest manner. He had no hesitation in bringing his relations to Rome and making splendid provision for them; but the example of Sixtus IV.

the portrait of the Pope, still without a beard; below, the Rovere arms, all artistically drawn, and surrounded by a wreath of oak. *Cum dictus predecessor ad ipsas Terras Sermonete et alias inhians ut suos locupletaret, causas quereret privationis—non zelo justitie sed cupiditate et immoderata suos etiam aliena jactura postposita ditandi —per illusionem, dolum, et fraudem—postmodum dicto Predecessore sicut Domino placuit sublato de medio, etc.*

[1] Paris de Grassis (MS. Chigi, i. 20) reports the performance of this mass.

[2] Jovius, *Vita Pompeii Columnae* (Florence edition, 1548, without pagination). The deserted fortress still stands at Nettuno.

and Alexander prevented him from carrying favouritism to excess. His nephew Francesco Maria, son of Giovanni Rovere, lord of Sinigaglia, and of Joanna of Montefeltre, was also nephew to Duke Guidobaldo, the last of the ancient Montefeltri of Urbino. Francesco dwelt at this time at the French court, where he was educated with Gaston de Foix. The Pope brought him—a boy of thirteen—to Rome; he was already Prefect of the city. A brilliant future opened before him, for at the Pope's desire, he was adopted by Guidobaldo on May 10, 1504, and the succession in Urbino was thus secured to the Rovere. The cardinals reluctantly gave their consent; and Julius II. in consequence had nothing more to demand for his nephews.[1] As early as March 2, 1505, he married this young heir of the house of Montefeltre to Leonora Gonzaga, daughter of the Marquis Francesco of Mantua. The wedding was solemnised with great magnificence in the Vatican, in the presence of eighteen cardinals and of representatives of all the powers; the Pope himself did not appear, alleging indisposition, which was probably merely a pretext.[2]

Francesco Maria Rovere, Prefect of the city and heir of Urbino.

His favourite was Galeotto, son of his sister Lucchina by her first marriage with Franciotto, a

[1] Bull in *Raynald ad A.* 1504, n. 37. On January 4, 1505, Guidobaldo, with the Prefect of the city, made his entry into Rome: Paris de Grassis.

[2] Guidobaldo to the Marchese Gonzaga, Rome, March 2, 1505.—*Franciscus Maria Feltrius de Rovere Pref. Urbis* to the same, his father-in-law, Rome, March 3. Gonzaga Archives. The marriage was performed by proxy, since Leonora remained in Mantua. The deed of April 9, 1505, is found in Beneimbene's Book of Protocols.

native of Lucca. He caused this sister to come from Savona to Rome, which she entered in the company of the Prefettessa Joanna on June 11, 1504, bringing to her brother the Pope, his natural daughter Felice. As these women arrived in public procession, escorted by a cavalcade of cardinals and courtiers to visit the Pope in S. Angelo, the Romans must have been reminded of the times of Alexander VI., for again a Pope's daughter was seen in the Vatican.[1] Madonna Lucchina was accompanied by a second son, the youthful Niccolo Rovere. Already in the first creation of cardinals on November 29, 1503, when Clemente Grosso Rovere, François Guillaume of Clairmont, and Juan de Zuniga received the red hat, her eldest son Galeotto had been made Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the titular church of the house of Rovere. The Pope heaped innumerable benefices upon him; he received the office of vice-chancellor on the death of Ascanio Sforza. This celebrated cardinal, who had in vain striven to recover Milan for his house, died in Rome on May 27, 1505. Julius completed the Sacred College on December 12 of the same year. Marco Vigeri of Savona, Francesco Alidosi of Imola, Robert Chaland of England, Leonardo Grosso Rovere, brother of Cardinal Clemente, Carlo del Carretto, Count of Finale, Antonio Ferreri of Savona, Fazio Santoro of Viterbo, Gabriel de Gabrielibus of Fano, and Sigismondo Gonzaga of Mantua received the purple.

Galeotto Rovere, Cardinal.

[1] Giustinian's Despatch, Rome, June 11, 1504. The Pope afterwards gave the ladies a banquet in the Vatican.

The brilliant Galeotto soon became the favourite of Rome; he made the noblest use of his wealth; he was the idolised patron of artists and scholars. But he only enjoyed his good fortune a few years, dying on September 11, 1508, lamented by the entire city and bewept with bitter tears by his friend Cardinal Medici. Galeotto was succeeded by his half-brother Sixtus Gara Rovere, whom Julius made cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli the day of his beloved nephew's death. The new favourite inherited the benefices but not the virtues of his predecessor.[1]

His death on Sept. 11, 1508.

Alexander VI. pursued but one aim, that of aggrandising his children. Julius II. only thought of building up the State of the Church. He squandered nothing on his nephews, he always kept a store of money ready in S. Angelo. His ardent longing to deprive the Venetians of the Romagna he was obliged to curb until his forces were strengthened. While he sought for allies, he supported the negotiations of France and Spain in Blois. These powers, at enmity concerning the possession of Naples, but both utterly exhausted, concluded a truce, while Lewis XII., the Emperor and the Archduke made peace with one another. On September 22, 1504, the powers assembled at Blois agreed upon the war against Venice, agreed even

Treaty of Blois, Sept. 22, 1504.

[1] The Cardinal of Portugal said in derision that Julius II. had lost the sword of steel, and had stuck a wooden blade in the sheath. This cardinal, George Costa, created in 1476, died at the age of 102 on September 24, 1508, and was buried in S. Maria del Popolo. Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, created in 1480, died on September 26, 1508, and was buried in SS. Apostoli.

to the partition of the republic between them: and the author of this alliance was Julius II.[1] The terrified Venetians hereupon restored some unimportant places in the Romagna, to pacify the Pope, but retained Faenza and Rimini. As the treaty of Blois produced no practical results, Julius was obliged to remain quiet, while he collected money and made preparations.[2]

The definitive peace which France and Spain concluded with one another at Blois on October 26, 1505, restored tranquillity to Italy also. Queen Isabella of Castile died in November 1504, and although she bequeathed the government of the country to Ferdinand, Philip of Habsburg-Flanders claimed it as husband of her daughter Joanna. Philip even threatened himself to come to Castile. And as the King of France now also feared the rising greatness of the Habsburgs, he offered the equally suspicious Ferdinand peace at Blois. Here he renounced the Neapolitan provinces, which he had given as dowry to his niece Germaine de Foix, and the French princess became the wife of Ferdinand the Catholic.

With the exception of the war of the Florentines against Pisa, all was now quiet in Italy, but owing to Julius II., this quiet was soon succeeded by such din of arms and war, that it seemed as if Mars himself was seated on the Sacred Chair. The Pope wished to seize whatever lay nearest, to extirpate the last tyrants in the State of the Church; first

[1] Traité de Blois, September 22, 1504. Dumont, iv. i. 58.
[2] *Diario di Biagio Buonaccorsi.* Flor. 1568, p. 99.

Giampolo Baglione, who, on Alexander's death, had recovered possession of Perugia, then Bentivoglio in Bologna.

Before setting forth on this enterprise he concluded a family alliance with the Orsini and Colonna, whom he strove to gain to his side and to reconcile with one another. In November 1505 he married the young Niccolo Rovere, brother of Galeotto, to Laura Orsini, sole heiress of Ursus Orsini and daughter of the now widowed Julia Farnese, the celebrated mistress of Alexander VI. Weighty motives must have been at stake to induce the Pope to consent to an alliance which brought his own house into such close connection with the memory of the Borgia. By this marriage the Rovere became related not only to the Orsini, but also to the Farnese.[1] Julius also gave his own daughter Felice in marriage to John Jordan, the head of the Orsini of Bracciano. The haughty noble, whose first wife Maria Cecilia was a bastard daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples, unwillingly consented to this alliance. The bridegroom was moreover a man of such curious disposition that the Duke of Urbino called him a public fool (*pubblico pazzo*). The marriage with Madonna Felice was solemnised on May 24, 1506, in the palace of the Vice-Chancellor —the present Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini—with an

[1] The marriage deed was executed in the Vatican in the presence of the Pope, Donna Julia, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Riario, and several others, in November (the day is not given) 1505. Beneimbene's Book of Protocols. Laura was, moreover, the daughter of Alexander VI.

absence of ceremony that bordered on contempt.[1] The Pope had prohibited all noisy demonstration, to avoid any reminder of Alexander VI. He only gave his daughter a dowry of 15,000 ducats; she immediately left Rome to dwell with her eccentric husband in the Castle of Bracciano.[2] In July of the same year the Pope married Donna Lucrezia Gara Rovere, daughter of his sister Lucchina, to the young Marcantonio Colonna, one of the most celebrated warriors of his house. He invested him with Frascati and presented him with the palace beside SS. Apostoli, which he himself had completed while a cardinal. This building is the present Palazzo Colonna.[3]

Certain of the tranquillity of Rome, ready with his military preparations, in alliance with Florence, Mantua, the Este and Montefeltre, assured of the support of France, the already ageing Pope suddenly arose, in the sweltering calm of summer, to subdue by force of arms Perugia and Bologna, strong and powerful cities, without which the State of the

[1] Paris de Grassis has given an amusing description of the scene. The Orsini appeared half clothed, as if by accident; he only allowed himself to be shaved just before the marriage. After the ceremony he drove all the spectators out of the room, where he shut himself up with Madonna Felice.

[2] *El papa non a voluto far dimostrazione par esser sua fiola come fe pp. Alex. ma fe dar la man in caxa del nepote Carl. S. pietro in Vincula e poi la meno fuor di roma a brazano.* Marin Sanuto, *Diar.*, vi. 159. June 1506.

[3] Coppi, *Memorie Colonnesi*, p. 251. Marcantonio fell before Milan in 1522; Lucrezia, who bore him four daughters, erected the Chapel in S. Trinità ai Monti, in which is the celebrated picture by Daniele da Volterra. She was also buried here in 1552.

Church remained merely a helpless torso. It was a bold undertaking, and if successful a master stroke. Since Spain had seized Naples, and the Papacy was thus hemmed in on the south, it was obliged to seek an opening in the north; the centre of gravity of the papal policy was consequently transferred to Central Italy, and Umbria, Tuscany and the Romagna obtained great importance for the Sacred Chair.

Julius II. left Cibò of Tusculum behind as his vicar in Rome. With twenty-four cardinals he departed on August 26, 1506, at the head of only 500 men. Advancing by Formello, Nepi, Civita Castellana, Viterbo and Montefiascone, he reached Orvieto on September 7, where he was joined by the Duke of Urbino.[1] His first military expedition was attended by unhoped-for success. For Giampolo so entirely lost his self-command at the Pope's approach that he accepted Guidobaldo's proposals, hurried to Orvieto and surrendered Perugia to his master. Julius entered it on September 12, to receive the oath of homage, and although the Baglioni had collected sufficient mercenaries, was even arrogant enough to leave his troops behind. The impious tyrant, who had never shrunk from a murder, did not utilise his opportunity to perform a deed, which according to Machiavelli's view would have awakened the admiration of the world and

Julius II. subjugates Perugia, Sept. 1506.

[1] He spent the night at Formello with his son-in-law John Jordan, who, with Madonna Felice, only came as far as the door of the castle to meet him. Paris de Grassis. Cardinal Adrian describes the Itinerary of the Pope in Latin verses (in Ciacconius, iii. 225). He was accompanied by Machiavelli.

secured him immortality.[1] He entered the service of the Pope as a leader of mercenaries.

Encouraged and elated, Julius announced that he had no more ardent desire than that of tranquilising Italy, in order that he might deliver Constantinople and Jerusalem. To this effect he commanded Egidio of Viterbo to preach before the people in Perugia.[2] He remained there nine days, setting in order the affairs of the city, the government of which he soon made over to Cardinal Medici; then, as Francesco Gonzaga had arrived with auxiliaries, he departed for Gubbio on September 21, and entered Urbino on the 25th. The people were everywhere amazed at the hitherto unheard-of sight of a pope of sixty-four heading a military expedition. In order to avoid the territory of Rimini, which was occupied by Venetians, he made his way across the Apennines. He set up his headquarters at Imola, and here appointed the Marquis Gonzaga General of the Church.[3] By a bull he commanded Giovanni Bentivoglio to evacuate Bologna. This noble, who had grown old in the storms of the time, dwelt there in one of the most beautiful palaces in Italy, surrounded by four brave sons, by friends and vassals, celebrated by his deeds in war, energetically

Expedition of Julius II. against Bologna.

[1] *Sendo il primo che havesse dimostro ai Prelati, quanto sia da stimare poco che vive e regna come loro, et havesse fatto una cosa la cui grandezza havesse superato ogni infamia, ogni pericolo che da quella potesse dependere.* *Discorsi*, i. c. 27. In scarcely any other passage has the author of the *Principe* expressed his hatred of the priesthood with such strength or naïveté.

[2] This is related by Egidio himself in his *Hist. XX. Saeculor.*

[3] Brief, Imola, October 25, 1506. In Dumont, iv. i. 89.

holding enemies and citizens in check in times of peace; related by marriage to the noblest families in Italy, loaded with honours, Count of the Empire by imperial diploma, and enjoying the protection of the King of France. Beside him stood his aged wife Ginevra Sforza, daughter of Alessandro of Pesaro, a woman of lofty character.[1] Bentivoglio's forces were not insignificant; the walls and towers, under which Caesar Borgia had once been compelled to slink, would have proved impregnable, had the lord of Bologna possessed the love of his people. But they either hated their despot or were incited by his enemies. The banished Malvezzi secretly stirred up a revolt as agents of the Pope, who immediately after his accession to the throne had renewed the liberties which had formerly been granted to the Bolognese by Nicholas V.[2] The Bentivogli.

The papal army, consisting of vassals of the Church and of auxiliaries from Florence, Perugia, Ferrara and Mantua, advanced under the command

[1] Born about 1440, she was married at the age of twelve to Sante Bentivoglio, to whom she bore Ercole and three daughters. After Sante's death in 1463, his ward Giovanni II. Bentivoglio became lord of Bologna, and married Ginevra. She bore him seven daughters and four sons; Annibale II., who continued the line, Antonio Galeazzo, Alessandro and Ermete. She reigned in Bologna for nearly half a century. She was called *decus matronarum*. Ratti, *Famil. Sforza*, vol. ii.; article: Ginevra Sforza. See concerning the Bentivogli: *Memorie per la vita di Giovanni II. Bentivoglio*, del conte Don Giovanni Gozzadini, Bologna, 1839. A picture by Lorenzo Costa, representing the family of Giovanni Bentivoglio is to be seen in S. Giacomo in Bologna; it is reproduced in Geiger's *Renaiss. u. Humanismus*, facing p. 180.

[2] Bull, Rome, November 30, 1503. Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, iii. n. 429.

of Gonzaga. This fact, however, would have caused Bentivoglio no dismay, had he not been abandoned by Lewis XII. The King deserted him with shame and hesitation; in vain had he counselled the Pope to postpone his expedition against Bologna; he now placed at his disposition 8000 men under Charles d'Amboise Marshal of Chaumont, his lieutenant in Milan, who seized Castelfranco. The Bolognese, fearing that the French might sack their city, demanded the departure of their tyrant, and the Marshal offered him favourable terms, assuring his safety. Bentivoglio left Bologna with his children on November 2, and hurried to the French camp. Ginevra alone refused to move; she wished to throw herself at the feet of the Pope, but Julius refused to see her. Rage and revenge in her heart, she was obliged to follow her husband. The citizens then sent envoys to Imola to announce their submission. The astute Chaumont now wished to enter Bologna; for it was to the King of France alone that the Pope owed his brilliant success; but the citizens rose in arms and laid the French camp under water, and the Pope pacified the Marshal with a sum of money and the promise of the purple for his brother Louis d'Amboise. The act won for Julius II. the thanks of the Bolognese.[1]

Julius II. enters Bologna, Nov. 11, 1506.

His entry into Bologna on November 11 was a military triumph which recalled the splendours of

[1] Florus *de expedit. Bononiensi*, apud Graevium, ix. pars. 6, p. 20 sq.—*Et n'y point de doubte que par les armes le Pape n'eust jamais subjugé ceulx de Bologne*, bitterly says S. Gelais, *Hist. de Loys XII.* ed. Godefroy, p. 189.

the Roman Caesars. The Pope, bearing as he did the name of Julius, advancing under a purple canopy and seated on a festal car, appeared to his flatterers as a second Julius Caesar. The cardinals and the Curiali, who preceded or followed him, imagined themselves Roman senators, or still greater than senators.[1] Knights and nobles of Rome, Florence and other cities, among them Marcantonio Colonna himself, appeared as allies or vassals of the Pope, and the gorgeous procession advanced to the Cathedral of S. Petronio. The childish people shouted, "Long live Julius, the Father of the Country, the Saviour of the liberty of Bologna."[2] The great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam was a witness of this triumphal procession, the pagan splendour of which, afterwards repeated in Rome, awoke his astonishment.[3]

Julius II., now master of the powerful city, altered its constitution, but it nevertheless forced him to leave it its municipal statutes and a civic senate of forty men; he also absolved it from several taxes. The Bentivogli had meanwhile found an asylum assured by treaty in Milan, and differences between

New municipal constitution in Bologna.

[1] Albertini, *De Mirabilib. Urbis R.*, in the chapter *de nonnullis triumphantib.*, says that 3000 ducats in gold and silver were scattered among the people. The weather was like summer, the roses were in bloom; *et omnes Bononienses dicebant vere Julius pater est coelorum et planetarum.*

[2] On triumphal arches was written: *Julio Tyrannorum Expulsori. —Bononia a Tyrannide liberata.* Paris de Grassis. Julius had a coin struck with the inscription: BON. P. IVL. A TYRANNO LIBERAT. —*De operib. et reb. gestis Julii II. Commentariol. Laurentii Parmenii* in *Anecdot. Litteraria* ap. Gregor. Sittar, iii. 315.

[3] *Apol. ad Blasphem. Jacobi Stunicae*, Opp. ix. 361. Ed. 1706.

the Pope and King Lewis, who received the exiles because he could make use of them, arose in consequence.[1] The satisfaction of the Bolognese was diminished when their new ruler ordered them to build a fortress at the Porta Galiera. With royal self-reliance, he also commissioned Michael Angelo to make a colossal statue of him in bronze, to be placed over the entrance to S. Petronio. Bologna was speedily roused to indignation by the extortions of the Cardinal-legate Antonio Ferreri. In the course of a few months the Pope was obliged to bring the robber to trial and to throw him into S. Angelo; he was also forced to punish the datary Giovanni Gozzadini, for having falsified the bull of legation and increased the powers thereby granted to the Cardinal.[2]

Julius quitted Bologna on February 22, 1507. He would gladly have journeyed by Ravenna and Rimini, and wrested them from the Venetians, but how could he make war on the powerful republic? He proceeded to Rome by Imola, Forli, Cagli, Viterbo. On March 27 he reached Ponte Molle by the Tiber. He spent the night in S. Maria del

[1] Ginevra, indefatigable in inciting her sons to revenge, lived to see the sack of the beautiful palace of the Bentivogli. She died at Busseto on May 16, 1507; Ratti, ii. 151. Guido Posthumus dedicated an elegy—one of his best poems—to her. *Elegiar.*, p. 30 (ed. Bologna, 1524). Giovanni Bentivoglio died in exile at Milan, on February 13, 1508. Thence the same day his son Alessandro informed the Marquis of Mantua of his father's death: *quale passò de questa presente vita ogi ad hore* 12. Gonzaga Archives.

[2] Ferrerio was arrested on August 1, 1507; the Pope, it is true, released him, but the cardinal lived neglected and like a prisoner in S. Onofrio, where he died in August 1508. Paris de Grassis.

Popolo, and the following day (Palm Sunday) made his solemn entry. It was the triumph of returning home after a victorious war waged against the tyrants of the State of the Church, and this one campaign had made the Pope the foremost man in Italy. Triumphal arches and altars stood on the streets of Rome; the Arcus Domitiani on the Corso had been as beautifully decorated with statues and pictures by the Cardinal of Lisbon "as if Domitian himself were celebrating another triumph."[1] Near S. Angelo was seen a triumphal car, drawn by four white horses, from which the Pope handed palm-branches to winged genii. On another globe stood the golden oak of the Rovere, its branches rising in the air to the summit of S. Maria Traspontina. So perfectly had the Romans learnt the art of flattering their lords, the Popes. Julius returned to the Vatican with the praise of a mighty prince. The magnificent festival could only encourage him to form fresh plans of conquest.

Julius II. enters Rome in triumph, March 28, 1507.

While he made and ended his triumphant campaign, the King of Spain had been in Naples. He landed there in October 1506, to inspect his new states and assure himself of the fidelity of Gonsalvo, whose greatness threatened to become dangerous. During his journey he had received the news of his son-in-law's death. The young archduke Philip had died at Burgos on September 25, 1506, leaving as his heirs his little sons Charles and Ferdinand. The event hastened the return of the King of Spain; he left Naples in January 1507, taking Gonsalvo

Ferdinand of Spain in Naples,

[1] Albertini, *ut supra.*

with him. The Pope had gone to meet him at Ostia, but the King, indignant at the Pope's refusal to invest him with Naples, sailed past without stopping. He landed at Savona, where he met Lewis XII., and here the French monarch laid the foundations of a future league.[1]

4. MAXIMILIAN AT CONSTANCE, MAY 1507—ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS JOURNEY TO ROME—WAR WITH VENICE—LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY—BATTLE OF AGNADELLO—DISTRESS OF THE VENETIANS—RECONCILIATION OF JULIUS II. WITH THE REPUBLIC—SCHEME FOR OUSTING THE FRENCH—JULIUS EXCOMMUNICATES THE DUKE OF FERRARA—ANGER OF LEWIS XII.—SYNOD AT TOURS—CHAUMONT BEFORE BOLOGNA—JULIUS AT MIRANDOLA—LOSS OF BOLOGNA—MURDER OF ALIDOSI—A COUNCIL IS CONVOKED AT PISA—MAXIMILIAN AND THE PAPACY—A COUNCIL IS CONVOKED AT THE LATERAN—ILLNESS OF THE POPE—DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN ROME—POMPEO COLONNA AND THE ROMAN BARONS.

With the aid of a Council, Julius II. determined to humiliate the republic of Venice and deprive her of the Romagna. Soon after his return, in order to secure France and Spain to his side, he had bestowed the Cardinal's hat on three Frenchmen, Jean de Tremouille, Louis d'Amboise, René de Prie, also on

[1] Naples was henceforward ruled by viceroys. The successor of Gonsalvo, who died in disgrace in Spain, on December 2, 1575, was Don Giovanni d'Aragona; he was succeeded by Don Antonio di Guevara; and on October 24, 1509, Don Raimondo de Cardona became viceroy.

the celebrated Ximenes of Toledo. And as early as March 1504 he had sent nuncios to the courts of France, Spain and Maximilian, to incite these powers to war with Venice, whose ambition threatened to devour the State of the Church and Italy.[1] But Lewis XII., who was still in alliance with Venice and in strained relations with Maximilian, placed difficulties in his way. He suspected that the emperor entertained the idea of reinstating the house of Sforza in Milan. Maximilian was greatly shaken by the death of his son Philip; the hopes of his dynasty now rested on his grandson Charles, a child of seven, and it was a difficult task to secure to this child the succession in Spain and the Empire. He now resolved on a great deed, to march to Italy, take the imperial crown in Rome, finally restore the rights of the Empire, and raise Germany to the height from which she had fallen while, owing to the possession of Milan, France had attained such formidable greatness. He laid this scheme before the brilliant Diet of the Empire assembled at Constance in May 1507, and the Diet promised to furnish him with the means requisite for the journey.[2]

[1] *Instructiones datae R. Epo. Aretin. Prelato Domestico ad Regem et Reginam Hispaniar. . . . Dat. Romae die* 14 *Martii MDIV. Pont. N. A. Primo.* The tone of this document is one of the most violent passion. The nuncio was to go first to the King of France.—Instructions for Carolus de Caretto, *Electo Thebano*, to the French Court, May 14, 1504. Instructions for Mariano de Bartholinis de Perusio, to Maximilian, February 22, 1504. (*Bibl. Marciana*, cl. ix. Cod. 42.)

[2] Glutz-Blotzheim, *Gesch. der Eidgenossen*, p. 205. Maximilian

The Pope, informed that Maximilian was coming for his coronation, sought to dissuade him. The journey to Rome threatened to set all Italy in commotion, and might possibly give rise to a revolution. It was opposed by France and Venice; in their Diet at Lucerne on January 29, 1508, the Swiss Cantons, however, explained that they would offer no hindrance to the Emperor. On February 3 Maximilian held a festival in the Cathedral of Trent, when Mathias Lang, Bishop of Gurk, publicly announced the expedition to Rome. Henceforward Maximilian called himself, "Roman Emperor elect," and the Pope raised no protest against his assumption of the title.[1] In this belated restoration Maximilian gave utterance to the principle, that the imperial authority, which continued to survive in Germany, was independent of the coronation at the hands of the Pope.

But the journey to Rome resolved itself into a fierce war with the Venetians, who, upheld by the French, refused the Emperor passage through their dominions. They everywhere defeated his troops; their general Alviano covered himself with glory. Maximilian was deprived of Görtz, Trieste and Fiume. Always impecunious, always irresolute, he soon grew so weary of the campaign, that no later than April 30, 1508, he concluded a three years' truce with Venice. He was deeply incensed

here became acquainted with Mathias Schinner, Bishop of Sitten, the soul of all the enterprises of the confederates against France.

[1] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reform*, i. 117. Glutz, p. 212.

against the republic, which mocked at his majesty.[1] He now made overtures to the King of France, who on his side was indignant with the Venetians for having without his knowledge concluded a treaty with the Emperor. Thus unexpectedly the Venetian war furthered the aims of the Pope.

The audacious egotism of the republic of S. Mark was formidable to every state. She still reigned supreme in the Adriatic—the lake of Venice;—her banner still waved over all the waters of the Levant; Candia and Cyprus and many foreign coasts obeyed her. But threatened with an imminent catastrophe, owing to the discovery of the passage to India and to the power of the Turks, she wished to become an Italian territorial power, and tried to seize from a corner of the North East the dominion of the entire peninsula, as in our own days little Piedmont has successfully done, and as Rome—whose marvellous growth and statesmanship those of Venice resembled—had done in former days.[2] Had this

[1] The causes of Maximilian's disasters, namely, the feeble support lent by the Empire, want of money and extravagance, are dealt with by Machiavelli in the *Rapporto di cose della Magna* (June 17, 1508). Of Maximilian he says: *e non mutando modi, se le frondi degli alberi d'Italia gli fussero diventati ducati, non gli bastavano*, Opp. vi. 140.

[2] P. Paruta (*Hist. Veneta*, Introduction) regrets that Venice had not in good time driven the imperial vicars from the district of the Po, and boldly says: *domata l'Italia, quanto facile strada se le aparecchiasse per soggiogare tutte l'altre nationi, e fondare un Imperio dall' Oriente all' Occidente, le cose stesse de' Romani facilmente lo dimostrano.*—According to a notice in Sanuto's diary of June 15, 1509 (vol. iii. 196), Venice numbered 300,000 inhabitants. *Homini e donne vechi preti e puti anime* 300 *millie. Homini da anni* 15 *fino* 60 *ca* 160 *m. Homini da fati* 80 *m. Femine e puti* 48,346. *Femine da partida* 11,654.

great republic, instead of alarming every state of Italy by her thirst for conquest, but raised the banner of national independence, she would probably have become the saviour of Italy. Her fleets had kept France far from Genoa, Spain far from Naples. She lay like a bulwark in front of the Alps of Tyrol and Istria; she was mistress of the key to Italy —of the Veronese territory which the empire claimed. Hers were Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, and other places of the Duchy of Milan, to which France raised pretensions. She possessed Friuli, which was coveted by Austria; and Apulian ports of which Spain demanded the restoration. In the Romagna she held Ravenna, Faenza, Cervia, and Rimini, towns of the Pope. Thus all these various powers had a score to settle with Venice.

Julius II. was more particularly indignant on account of the independence in ecclesiastical matters which she claimed. The republic desired that the vacant benefices within her territories should be exclusively bestowed on her own citizens, and besides, she stoutly repudiated many claims of the Roman chancery.[1] "I will make Venice again a little fishing village," Julius one day angrily said to the envoy Pisani; to which the noble Venetian replied, "And unless you are reasonable, Holy Father, we will make you a little parish priest."[2]

[1] *Di modo che il papa per queste ed altre cose ancora non è in tutto papa sopra di essi: Lettere storiche di Luigi da Porto Vicentino* (A. 1509–1528), ed. B. Bressan, Florence, 1857, i. n. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*

The Pope swallowed the haughty answer, but did not forget it.

He finally succeeded in uniting the great powers. The Emperor, France and Spain sent their envoys to Cambray, where Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands for the infant archduke Charles, and Cardinal Amboise made peace and alliance on December 10, 1508. The same day these powers and Amboise, acting as legate for the Pope, concluded the epoch-making league against Venice.[1] Julius recognised the danger of these means of acquiring the Romagna. In the beginning, however, he hoped through fear to wrest from the Venetians that which he desired, and then to render the league itself useless. But when the Doge Loredano refused his final proposals, to restore Faenza and Rimini, he signed his accession to the momentous alliance on March 23, 1509.[2] Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino also joined the league. The Florentines were won over by the surrender of Pisa by France and Spain.

League of Cambray, Dec. 10, 1508.

The league of Cambray was a senseless act on the part of Lewis XII.; on Maximilian's an act of treachery against Venice; and on that of the Pope a frivolous risk for the sake of an utterly inadequate object—the recovery, namely, of a few towns in the Romagna. Julius II. was here guilty of a no less grave offence than was committed by Alexander VI. in the time of Charles VIII. He staked the existence of the only free and strong

[1] Dumont, iv. i. 113.

[2] Bull, *Rom.* 10 *Kal. Apr.* 1508. Dumont, p. 116. The Turkish war is the pretext; the Pope does not mention Venice.

state in Italy; he invited the great powers into his native country and plunged it into a war, of which no one could foresee the end.[1]

War of the powers against Venice.

The republic of S. Marco suddenly saw herself threatened by half of Europe, but she did not despair. She must either maintain her position or perish like Carthage. The French armies under Chaumont had already crossed the Adda, when the angry Pope hurled the ban against Venice on April 27, 1509. The whole burthen of the war must necessarily be assumed by Lewis XII. It was but slowly that Maximilian's army advanced from the north, while Francesco Maria Rovere, now, through Guidobaldo's death, Duke of Urbino, entered the Romagna with the papal troops. A single battle against the King of France, which Alviano and Niccolò of Pitigliano lost at Agnadello, brought the Venetian republic to the brink of ruin. Alviano himself was made a prisoner; Pitigliano escaped with the cavalry.[2] Peschiera, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia fell, and it was merely owing to the circumstance that the victors halted on the Mincio—since the Veronese territory formed the share of the spoils that fell to Maximilian—that averted the fall of

Battle of Agnadello.

[1] *Bellum—quo nullum vel atrocius, vel diturnius in Italia post exactos Gothos, majores nostri meminerunt*: Jovius, *Vita Leonis*, x. p. 38. Raumer, *Gesch. Europa's seit d. Ende d.* 15. *Jahrh.*, p. 61, well shows the empty pretexts for the war, as well as the frivolity of the league. . . . Sismondi, *Hist. des Repub. Ital.*, c. 105.

[2] S. Gelais, *Hist. de Louis XII.*, p. 215.—The French took 28 cannon at Agnadello; the number of the dead amounted only to 3-4000. Pandolfini to the Ten. Milan, May 15-16, 1509, in Desjardins—Canestrini, *Négociations*, etc., ii. 327.

the whole territory on the mainland.[1] Lewis XII. conscientiously surrendered the keys of the cities of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua to the indolent Emperor; and, in accordance with the articles of Cambray, Maximilian bestowed the investiture of Milan on the King of France at Trent on June 14.

The Venetians now acted like people in a shipwreck, who jettison the cargo in order to save the vessel. They first surrendered Ravenna, Cervia, Rimini and Faenza to the Pope, commanding their provosts to hand these cities over to the Duke of Urbino and to retire with the garrisons to Venice; then they restored the Apulian seaports to the Spaniards. But the Emperor, like Lewis XII., remained deaf to the overtures of peace on the part of the discomfited republic. When the Pope also refused to hear of peace, Marco Loredano, the son of the Doge, rose publicly in the Senate and advised his fellow citizens to appeal to the Turks for aid against the tyrant of the human race, who called himself their Father.[2] Against the excommunication by the Pope, the Venetians had appealed to a Council which was to be summoned. On July 1, 1509, Julius consequently renewed the celebrated

[1] The French considered their victory one of the greatest in history; *Car là furent vaincus une Nation de gens saiges, puissans et riches et qui n'avoient oncques esté subjugues qu'à cette fois, depuis que Attila Roy des Huns les avait destruits.* S. Gelais.

[2] *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, Paris, 1785, i. 143.—On June 5, 1509, the Doge, Leonardo Loredano, wrote a despairing letter to the Pope (*commoveantur jam tandem viscera misericordiae vestrae*, etc.): Marin Sanuto, *Diar.*, viii. fol. 176.

Mantuan bull of Pius II.[1] It was during the storms of this war that after years of heroic resistance Pisa, deserted and alone, surrendered to the Florentines by treaty on June 8.

The jealousy of the allies and the dilatory habits of the Emperor saved the Venetians in their direst need. On July 17, 1509, Andrea Gritti recovered Padua from the Germans, and this city became the centre of furious strife. Maximilian, who was in Trent, who was scarcely supported by the suspicious French, and who as always was entirely devoid of means, here also acquired but little honour. Repulsed at Padua in September, he soon left the scene of war to return to Germany.

Maximilian repulsed at Padua.

The successful defence of Padua inspired the Venetians with fresh courage; by a master-stroke they had also taken prisoner the Marchese of Mantua, but their attempt against Ferrara on the Po was defeated by the valiant deeds of arms of Alfonso and Cardinal Ippolito. The death of their celebrated general Niccolò Orsini of Pitigliano in February 1510 was a no less serious loss. Nevertheless the tide of misfortune already began to ebb. Her tenacity, her lagoons and the divisions among the enemy saved the republic in her utmost peril. She was moreover favoured by a revulsion of feeling in the Pope. He now declared that the ruin of Venice would destroy the strongest bulwark against the Turks, would make Italy subservient to the foreign powers, and the State of the Church de-

[1] Rousset, *Supplém. au Corps Diplomat.*, ii. p. i. 15.

pendent on their favour. "If Venice did not exist, it would be necessary to create her," one day exclaimed Julius II.[1] He now held the cities of the Romagna with Cervia—important on account of its salt-marshes. He regarded with satisfaction the possession of the ancient Exarchate; he saw the envoys of Ravenna appear to do homage in the Vatican, and in his joy bestowed all the property of the Polentani on the Commune. Cardinal Grimani, whose father, the future Doge Antonio, lived in exile at Rome, and Cardinal Cornaro urged him to effect a reconciliation with Venice. In vain did Lewis XII. strive to prevent him by sending Alberto Pio to Rome to support the Cardinal of Auch, his plenipotentiary. The French cardinals told the Pope that if he absolved Venice he would thrust a dagger into the King's heart.

The treaty with the republic was drawn up: Venice renounced the cities of the Romagna, and submitted to other articles concerning the administration of benefices and the spiritual jurisdiction. The Pope did not succeed in his attempt to deprive her of the sway in the Adriatic, which she claimed from Ravenna to the Gulf of Fiume. Six envoys, the nobles Domenico Trevisan, Leonardo Mocenigo, Luigi Malipiero, Paolo Capello, Paolo Pisani and Girolamo Donato had come to Rome in July 1509, to receive the absolution for their republic. Negotiations were carried on here for months, until the disheartened Signory bowed before the

Reconciliation between Julius II. and Venice, Feb. 1510.

[1] *Se quella terra non fusse, bisogneria farne un' altra*: Report by Domenico Trevisan in *Albéri*, Ser. II. vol. iii. 36.

will of the Pope.[1] Some particularly humiliating ceremony was expected, but Julius did not venture so far. He celebrated a day of royal greatness when (on February 24, 1510) he triumphed over the proud mistress of the sea, who humbled herself before the priest she herself had raised to the Sacred Chair. The nobles, clad in scarlet, knelt at the feet of Julius, where he sat, a gold rod in his hand, outside the bronze doors of S. Peter's. Twelve cardinals held the same symbol of chastisement. At each verse of the Miserere the Pope bestowed a light stroke on the Venetians. He then imposed as penance a pilgrimage to the seven churches of the city and had the doors of the cathedral opened, and the Venetians conducted inside. The envoys returned to their dwellings amid the rejoicings of Rome and accompanied by crowds of the populace.[2]

On the following day they were summoned by the Pope. "Illustrious lords and envoys," he said, "are you not surprised that we delayed so long to remove the interdict? The fault was that of your Signory. She should have granted our demands. We deplore the censures that we are obliged to impose. We exhort her to stand on good terms with the popes. After this, no favour shall be lacking on our side."[3] In such terms was the Pope able at this time to address the most powerful state in Italy. His victory over Venice, which he owed entirely to fortune, made

[1] For further details see Moritz Brosch: *Papst Julius*, ii. 176.

[2] Paris de Grassis: Report of Dom. Trevisan, April 1, 1510.—Letter of Cardinal Cornaro to his father, Rome, February 24, with other accounts in Marin Sanuto, vol. x. fol. 3.

[3] Report of Domen. Trevisan, *ut supra*.

him great and formidable. He was now the man of the present, the man of Italy. On the festival of S. Mark, Pasquino appeared as Hercules, and innumerable epigrams glorified Julius, the Vanquisher of the Lion.[1] The Venetians departed, the handsome Girolamo Donato alone remaining behind as envoy. When on April 1 Trevisan gave the Doge an account of his embassy, he said, "The Pope is very shrewd and a great statesman; he is sixty-five years old, has the gout, and suffers from the effects of the French disease, nevertheless he is full of vigour and activity; he is determined to be lord and master of the world's game."[2]

If Lewis XII. were acquainted with the nature of Roman statecraft, he must have known that there was no friendship more thankless than that of a pope. But the violent manner in which the incalculable Julius rushed from one extreme to another took him by surprise. He saw himself betrayed and scoffed at by a priest, who was nothing without his aid, to whom he had presented Bologna, and for whom he had made war on the Venetians. After the Pope had abjured the league neither the King nor Maximilian would hear of peace with Venice. They

[1] *Herculis ut vires domuerunt omnia monstra*
Non aliter feci Julius in Venetos.

Eumenidum furias domui Junonia jussa
Nunc pellam Imperio barbara regna Jovis.

But also: *Hic opus Alcide clava domitrice ferarum*
Nam Roma est monstris tota referta feris.

Fugitive pages, *Impressum Romae per magist. Jacobum Masochium* A. MDX.

[2] *Vuol essere il signore e maestro del giuoco del mondo.*—Report, *ut supra.*

continued the war, which was demanded by the voice of German and French patriots.[1] Julius now placed himself more resolutely on the side of the Venetians. As he made use of France to conquer Bologna, he could now make use of Venice to drive the "barbarians" from Italy. In prose and verse Italian humanists encouraged him in the undertaking. As early as March 1510, by means of Schinner, Bishop of Sitten, he had concluded a five years' league with the Swiss, who, with 15,000 of their formidable infantry, were to descend from Valais into Lombardy.[2] He stirred up England against France, and gained the adhesion of Spain by revoking the infamous bull of Alexander VI. concerning Naples, and giving Ferdinand the investiture of the Kingdom.[3] He had no fear of Maximilian, who he said was "as inoffensive as a naked child." His audacious intention was that formerly entertained by Sixtus IV., in whose footsteps he trod, of forcibly annexing Ferrara to the Church. Night and day he thought of nothing but political greatness. It was said in derision that he had thrown the keys of Peter into the Tiber, and that he only retained the sword of S. Paul. Since the death of Ercole in 1505, the astute Alfonso, a protégé of France, had ruled as Duke in Ferrara; he was now at war with Venice for the possession of Rovigo and the Polesina. Of

[1] Speech of *Ludovicus Helianus Vercellensis*, Orator of the King, *de bello contra Venetos suscipiendo*, at the Diet of Augsburg, on April 10, 1510; and Hutten's fiery poems to Maximilian in *Ulrici Hutteni Equitis Poemata*, ed. Böcking, Leipzig, 1862.

[2] Glutz-Blotzheim, p. 222.

[3] Bull of July 3, 1510; Bousset, ii. p. i. 17.

his cities, Ferrara was an ancient fief of the Church, Modena and Reggio a fief of the Empire. The Pope coveted all these places, and, as a pretext for a quarrel, raised a claim to the salt-works at Comacchio, where Alfonso made salt and thus infringed the rights of the papal salt-works at Cervia, or of Agostino Chigi, who had taken them on lease.[1] He commanded the Duke as vassal of the Church to abandon the war with Venice. He then excommunicated him on August 9, 1510, pronounced him deprived of all the fiefs of the Church, even proclaimed him the enemy of Christendom, and in his furious curse included all the adherents of the Duke. He acted precisely as Sixtus and Alexander had acted towards the victims of their rapacity.[2] So great was his hatred that he would have made large concessions to France, if she would have renounced the Duke. His attack on Ferrara, however, added to everything else, caused a breach with Lewis XII., whom the Pope could not allow to become too powerful in Italy.

Julius II. attacks Ferrara.

The war continued to rage in the Veronese territory, where the French and Imperialists joined forces, while the Duke of Urbino invaded Alfonso's states and seized Modena, and Julius tried to kindle a revolution in Genoa, which still remained French.[3] He had now well-equipped armies in the field under the command of his nephew Urbino, and

[1] *Lett. de' Prin.*, i. 6. *Lett. stor. di Luigi da Porto*, ii. n. 55.

[2] *Anathema promulgavit horrendum,—cristae mihi prae horrore quando edictum legi riguerunt*: Petr. Martyr., Ep. xxiii. 443. *Ragioni frivole, per non dir calunniose*: Muratori ad A. 1510.

[3] Bizari, *Hist. Genuensis*, lib. 18, p. 427.

the young Marcantonio Colonna; he had also taken into his pay Spaniards under the other celebrated Colonna, Fabrizio Grand-Constable of Naples. Filled with impatience, he hurried to the seat of war, to the scandal of Christendom, which saw its chief Shepherd lay siege to cities, utterly unmindful of the Council which he had promised. Is it matter for surprise that the horror with which Rome was regarded waxed ever greater, and that Julius II. became an object of as deep hatred as Alexander VI.?[1] Lewis's indignation was unbounded against this priest-king, who for years had been the guest of his court and the confidant of his policy, who had first enticed him into war with Venice, and now, faithless to the alliance, stirred up all the powers against him, and sought to include him in the excommunication pronounced against the Duke of Ferrara. In September the King assembled a synod at Tours. The Cardinal of S. Malo here impeached the restless Pope, who, as cardinal, had formerly instigated the conspiracy of the Neapolitan barons, who, under Alexander VI., had invited the French to Italy, and who now wished to expel them. The assembly decided: that the Pope had no right to make war on princes for secular objects; that princes were justified in resisting him with force and in withdrawing their obedience. The Synod finally

Synod at Tours, Sept. 1510.

[1] *Delaissant la chaire de S. Pierre, pour prendre le titre de Mars Dieu des batailles, desployer aux champs les trois couronnes, et dormir en eschanguette: et Dieu scet comment ses mitreo, croix et crosses estoient belles à veoir voltiger parmy les champs.* Monstrelet, iii. 241. —*Descriptio Julii. II.* in *Hutteni Opera*, ed. Böcking, iii. 265, and other pungent epigrams by the same author.

declared that the principles of the Council of Basle and of the Pragmatic Sanction were to be conscientiously upheld throughout France.[1] Julius dismissed the French ambassadors in disgrace from his court, but forbade the French cardinals to leave the city. The King on the other hand recalled them and forbade any money to be paid to Rome. Scarcely had the Pope arrived at Bologna, on September 22, when he heard that five cardinals, who were to have come from Florence to meet him, had fled to Genoa. Their flight foreboded a schism.

Breach between the Pope and France.

When Chaumont, the Viceroy of Milan, knew the Pope to be in Bologna, he hazarded an attack on the already discontented city. He appeared before its walls on October 10, and demanded its surrender. The Bentivogli already occupied a gate, and their entrance was hourly expected. The cardinals believed themselves lost, even the aged Pope's courage deserted him for a moment. He thought of compounding with France by a treaty, but recovered his self-command.[2] The marshal was utterly disheartened. He allowed himself to be put off with adroit negotiations for peace, conducted on the Pope's side by Gianfrancesco Pico, the exiled Count of Mirandola, until the arrival of an army of Venetians and Spaniards under Fabrizio Colonna; he then withdrew in humiliation. All looked with admiration on the Pope. He burned with longing

[1] Belcarius, *Comment. rer. Gallicar.* xii. 348. Mezeray, *Hist. de France*, ii. 333. Harduin, *Concil.*, ix. 1557.

[2] During the night the Pope frequently exclaimed that he would take poison. Letter of Lipomano, Bolog., October 20, in Moritz Brosch, Note 34, p. 351.

to conquer Ferrara; with feverish impatience he watched the slow progress of the war. In the beginning of the winter he took Concordia, laid siege to Mirandola, where the Countess Francesca, daughter of Trivulzio and widow of Ludovico Pio, who had fallen in Alfonso's service on the Po, ruled as mistress. In the frosts of winter Julius had himself carried in a litter through the camp of his troops to hasten the fall of the fortress, which was esteemed the key to Ferrara. He paid no heed to the remonstrances of the cardinals and the Venetian envoys. Transformed into a fierce general, with a long beard, he visited the trenches and exposed himself to the bombs of the enemy, which might have killed him in his tent.[1] His conduct was deemed worthy of admiration, for at this period the priestly virtues were no longer looked for in a Pope. The patriots of degenerate Italy saw in Julius II. the only political character of the despairing country. Poets lauded him, the Pope, as a second Mars. They appealed to him as the last hope of Italy, to whose warlike strength alone they looked for the expulsion of the barbarians.[2] In truth this energetic veteran,

Julius II. conquers Mirandola, Jan. 1511.

[1] *Prae ira in turbatorem Gallum nutrire barbam cingula tenus dicitur*: Petr. Martyr., lib. xxiv. ep. 451.

[2] *Sit defensus honor, libertas publica, per te:*
Pristina sit Latio te duce parta quies.
Barbariem hanc magnis expertus saepe periclis,
Dum licet, Ausonio pellere Marte para.— —
In te oculos, in te verterunt ora Latini,
Hoc sperant urbes, suppliciterque petunt— —
Italia est, quam tu tutandam sumis, et in qua
Est tua cum nostra Marte tuenda salus.
Joh. Ant. Flaminii ad Julium II.: Carm. ill. Poetar. Ital., iv. 357.

a caricature of religion on S. Peter's chair, a hero of bronze in the storms of the age, appeared for the moment as the Moses of his people. So heroic is his figure that the denunciations of the enemies of this aged Titan of the Papacy appear trivial and not far removed from hypocritical piety. And yet men were justified in looking with horror on the High Priest who showed himself in the trenches among rude soldiers, to work the fall of a fortress in which a sorely harassed widow defended herself. Had not the French bishops reason to cite this Pope before a Council?[1] When Mirandola surrendered on January 21, 1511, Julius, in his impatience, caused himself to be drawn up through the breach in a wooden box.[2] Of the priest he retained nothing but the frock and the name.

The fall of this fortress was such a grievous disgrace for Chaumont, that the celebrated general died of grief at Coreggio on February 11. But the Pope, exulting in his good fortune, remained for ten days within the shot-riddled walls of the stronghold, the command of which he gave to Gianfrancesco Pico. He then proceeded to Bologna on February 7, and left this city again on the 11th, to betake himself to

[1] *Cosa in quel tempo tenuta indegna, et molto ridicula—ma cosi era fatta la furiosa natura di quell' huomo*: Jacopo Nardi, *Histor. di Fiorenza*, Lyons, 1582, lib. v. 131.—Spondanus, *Annal. Eccl. ad A.* 1511, n. 1. In Germany it was said: *Julius papa non tam apostol. sedis claviger, quam armiger*: Paul Lang, *Chron. Citizense*, apud Pistorium I., p. ii. 1279.—*Non riteneva il Pontefice altro che l'abito e il nome*: Guicciardini, x. 85.

[2] *Mémoires par Robert de la Mark, seigneur de Fleuranges*: Collect. Univers. xvi. 71. Bembo, *Histor. Venet.*, lib. xi. 451.

Julius II. in the Romagna.

Imola and Ravenna. He was no longer able to mount a horse, and, to his discomfort, had to drive Romagnoli fashion in a high-wheeled cart drawn by four oxen. And as he thus rolled from Bologna to Imola his sole greetings were the cheers of the street boys.[1] On February 18 he entered Ravenna, and henceforward travelled backwards and forwards between the chief cities of the Romagna, zealously urging on the war against Ferrara. In Ravenna on March 10, 1511, he created eight new cardinals, to strengthen himself against the schismatics and to discharge his obligations to some powers: these were the Englishman Christopher Bainbridge; Antonio Ciochi of Monte Sansovino, Archbishop of Siponto; Pietro Accolti, Bishop of Ancona, a native of Arezzo; Achilles de Grassis of Bologna; Francesco Argentino of Venice; Bandinello Sauli of Genoa; Alfonso Petrucci of Siena; and Mathias Schinner, the Swiss.

On March 30, Julius went to Bologna, where he celebrated Easter; on April 14, he returned to Imola. His troops, 1500 horse and 9000 foot, were stronger than those of France, and he consequently refused the overtures of peace, made by the various powers concerned, in a convention of princes at Mantua. The Emperor sent the Bishop of Gurk, the imperial vicar in Italy, to the Pope at Bologna. The envoy met with an honourable reception, but the Pope, who sought to impress him by a display of royalty, would agree to nothing unless Ferrara

Overtures of peace refused.

[1] *In helica vectus, quattuor bobus simpliciter trahentibus.* Paris de Grassis, MS. Chigi, iii. 200.

were surrendered to him. Irritated by the obstinate and angry refusal of the Vicar of Christ, Gurk left Bologna on April 25, after having refused the cardinalate and other offers.[1] The horrors of war touched the heart of the Pope as little as that of any other general, who considers it natural that garrisons should be strangled, citizens massacred, cities sacked and burnt.

The sudden loss of Bologna and its consequences were the first just punishment for Julius. In May Trivulzio marched with a strong force into the Romagna, and the Pope left the city exhorting the burghers to a stout resistance. He went to Ravenna, but left Francesco Alidosi behind as legate in Bologna. Alidosi, a vicious man of handsome exterior, was the Pope's favourite. A descendant of the lords of Imola, he had come to Rome under Sixtus IV., and become the confidant of Sixtus's nephew, who, it was said, owed him a debt of gratitude, because he had refused the bribes of the Borgia to mix him a dose of poison.[2] In 1504 he became Bishop of Mileto, then of Pavia, and cardinal on December 12, 1505. In 1507 Julius

[1] Spondanus ad A. 1511, n. 6. Mich. Coccinius, *De bello Maxim. cum Venetis*, apud Freher, ii. 541.

[2] Jovius maliciously says: *adolescens namq. roseo ingenuoq. ore conspicuus Juliano Bovereo adhaesit, qui postea Pont. Julius II. appellatus est. Apud hunc multis et arcanis expediti ingenii et parati corporis obsequiis, quantum nemo alius inter aequales gratiam promeruit.* Elog. iv. 207. Priuli calls him the Ganymede of Julius II. See note on p. 294, vol. vii. of this history. Bembo, *Hist. Venet.*, xi. 461, calls the Cardinal *turpis et flagitiosae vitae vir, cui nulla fides, nulla religio, nihil tutum, nihil pudicum, nihil unquam sanctum fuit.*

Francesco Alidosi, legate in Bologna.

gave him the legation of the Patrimony; the following year that of the Romagna. Alidosi persecuted the party of the Bentivogli with rapacious fury; he caused four senators and several other citizens of Bologna to be beheaded. He zealously furthered the building of the fortress of Galiera. On October 18, 1510, the infatuated Pope even made the shameless libertine Archbishop of Bologna. Inflated with vanity the cardinal-legate demanded the restoration of Imola to his family, and the refusal of the Pope, it was said, made him Julius's secret enemy. Once already the Duke of Urbino had brought him a prisoner to the Pope and accused him of high treason, but he had been exonerated by his benefactor.[1]

The Bolognese, however, were now carrying on negotiations with the renowned Trivulzio, who had succeeded Chaumont, and with Annibale and Ermete Bentivoglio, for the surrender of the city. French troops drew near. The citizens refused to obey the command of the legate and receive the papal forces.

Bologna taken by the Bentivogli, May 1511.

They rose in indignation on May 21, 1511, threw down a stucco figure of Julius II. from the loggia of the palace of the Anziani, where it had been erected by command of the Pope at the end of 1506, and with ridicule and contempt destroyed a bronze statue, a beautiful work of Michael Angelo, which had been placed over the entrance of the Cathedral of S. Petronio in 1508.[2] Alidosi escaped to the

[1] Paris de Grassis ad A. 1510.

[2] Alfonso had it melted and cast into a cannon, saying, *qu'il ferait faire un pet au Pape devant son château*: Fleuranges, p. 81. Only



fortress of Rio near Imola. He was believed, although without grounds, to have come to an understanding with the enemy. The Bentivogli entered the liberated city, and the triumphant populace demolished the fortress. True, the allied army under Urbino rapidly advanced before Bologna; it was ignominiously defeated with the loss of all its artillery. Mirandola also fell into the hands of the victor.

The Pope received the terrible tidings—a veritable thunderbolt—at Ravenna. In his passion he cried, "If the Duke fall into my hands I will have him quartered."[1] On May 24 the cardinal first appeared, threw himself at the Pope's feet, and laid all the blame on Rovere. Then came Rovere himself, accusing the Legate of incapacity and even of treason, but the Pope heaped insults on his nephew and drove him from the palace.[2] The Duke, only twenty years of age, broke into an uncontrollable passion. Woe to the Cardinal if he met him! Unfortunately they did meet. Alidosi, riding by in a street, bared his head; the Duke sprang from his horse and grasped his mule by the bridle. As the

the head was rescued and was brought to the museum in Ferrara. This seated figure had been cast out of a cannon belonging to the commune of Bologna and the bell from the tower of the Bentivogli. See *Intorno alle due statue erette in Bologna a Guilio II. distrutte nei tumulti del* 1511. Relaz. di Bartol., *Podestà, Atti e Memorie della R. Deputaz. di Storia Patria per le prov. di Romagna*, A. vii., 1868, p. 105 *sq.*

[1] *Si in manus meas veniet Dux nepos meus quadripartitum eum faciam ex merito suo*: Paris de Grassis, MS. Chigi, iii. 235.

[2] Bembo, *Histor. Ven.*, xi. 461. Venetian accounts in Priuli, iii. fol. 100; in Marin Sanuto, xii. fol. 103.



Cardinal Alidosi murdered.

Cardinal dismounted, Rovere drew his dagger, cut his adversary (who was wearing a cuirass) on the head and stabbed him as he fell. The swords of the men-at-arms finished the work, while not one of the Cardinal's attendants even stirred. Alidosi was carried into an adjacent palace; the Duke rode off to Urbino.[1] A splendid example to Christendom; a cardinal murdered in public by the nephew of the Pope! The Borgia had not lived in vain. Five years earlier another scene had been witnessed: the hired assassins of the young cardinal Ippolito of Este sought to tear out the eyes of his natural brother Giulio, because the cardinal's mistress had found these eyes beautiful. Such were the princes of the Church at this period.

According to the testimony of the papal master of ceremonies, Alidosi's murder excited nothing but joy in Ravenna, where the rash Duke was toasted; even cardinals clapped their hands and applauded the glorious deed.[2] The Pope alone was beside himself; he sobbed aloud, nay, shrieked like an animal. Two hours after the murder he left Ravenna. He lay weeping in the litter in which he was carried to Rimini.

All was dark around him. Bologna was lost! His nephew had covered him with shame. He was menaced by a frightful storm — the schism—the

[1] Paris de Grassis, iii. 236. Rubens, *Hist. Ravenn.*, p. 662. Bembo, *ut supra*. . . . In 1507 Francesco Maria had already committed one murder, having stabbed in Urbino the lover of his sister Maria, wife of Venanzio Varano.

[2] Paulus Jovius (*Carm. ill. Poet. Ital.*, v. 434) extols in verse this murder, and the Herculean slayer of this Cacus or Hydra.



Council. When he came to Rimini on May 28 he found the citation against him affixed to the doors of the churches. The rebellious cardinals cited him to appear on September 1 at Pisa, where the corrupt Church was to be reformed. For since Julius had hitherto declined the Council and always would decline it, because it was to deal with the reform of the Church from its head, on them (the cardinals) devolved the duty of summoning a Council in perfect freedom and under the express authority of the Emperor and the King of France. The Pope having refused the proposals of peace offered by Gurk, Maximilian had sent his procurators to the cardinals at Milan, where they had agreed with the French ambassadors that the Council was to be convoked.[1] Five cardinals had severed themselves from the Pope: Briçonnet, Sanseverino, Francesco Borgia, René de Prie, and the learned Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal of S. Croce. The last, who aimed at the tiara, was the true head of the schism. Ippolito of Este wavered; his astute brother Alfonso prevented him from joining the schismatics. Adrian of Corneto and Philip of Le Mans inclined towards rebellion.

The schismatic Cardinals summon a Council at Pisa.

Julius II. had now reached the same point to which he had formerly driven Alexander VI., by urging Charles VIII. to summon a Council.[2] To the necessity of reforming the Curia and to the revolt of cardinals so distinguished, was now united

[1] Spondanus ad. A. 1511, n. 8.—The act of the cardinals was legally executed at Milan on May 16, 1511, in presence of Galeazzo Visconti and Girolamo Morone (Marin Sanuto, xii. fol. 126).

[2] *Nihil pontificibus concilii nomine magis invisum, suspectum et periculosum existimatur.* Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 41.



the enmity of the greatest European monarchs. Lewis XII. had hoped to procure the papal crown for Amboise, until this ambitious cardinal, happily for Julius II., died at Lyons in 1510. Maximilian can only have desired to bestow the Papacy on a cardinal of German sympathies, perhaps on Adrian of Corneto. He is also believed to have indulged in the monstrous idea of dethroning the Pope-King and seating himself as Pope-Emperor on the Chair of Peter. Three letters of the Emperor exist which speak of such a scheme. They have been explained as jests or a diplomatic ruse; for is it possible that he could have been tempted by the thought of emulating Felix V.? Could he believe that Europe, which already hated the Roman priest-monarchy, would tolerate a Caliph? Maximilian's intellect was not sufficiently profound to enter with enthusiasm into any scheme for the reformation of the Church, but excitable and fantastic enough to believe it possible that he might wear the papal crown. His mysterious hints show how hopeless he considered the condition of the Church in the profane hands of Julius II., and how thoroughly he was persuaded that these evils could only be remedied by the imperial authority, as in the time when the German emperors reformed the Papacy, because they ruled it.[1] The Reforma-

Maximilian forms the idea of making himself Pope.

[1] The three letters are addressed to the Bishop of Trent; Constance, June 10, 1507 (Original in Vienna); to Paul of Lichtenstein; Brixen, September 16, 1511 (the Original is not forthcoming); to Margaret; Brixen, September 18, 1511 (in the Archives at Lille). See Le Glay, *Correspond. de l'Empereur Max I. et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, vol. ii. 37. This letter is written quite in a jesting manner, and is signed *Maximilianus futur Pape.* Albert Jäger, *Kaiser Max. I.*

tion was already in the air; the German people were filled with hatred of Italy, as well as of the Roman pope. Maximilian wished to raise the nation to a higher level of power; he loved extraordinary deeds; he dreamed of the restoration of the Imperium in the house of Habsburg, to which intermarriage with Spain already promised a brilliant future. With a view to this restoration of imperial greatness he demanded the expulsion of France from Italy and the subjugation of the Papacy to the imperial authority. In any case the idea attributed to Maximilian is the bitterest of sarcasms on the depravity of the Papacy and the restored State of the Church—the everlasting source of so many crimes, wars and sufferings in the world.

If Maximilian and Lewis, who still remained allies against Venice and the Pope, had summoned a Council not from political, but from sincerely religious aims, it would probably have created an incalculable sensation in Europe. The French King hated the Pope with a deadly hatred. Julius feared the anger of the powerful Lewis and the excitement in the Gallican Church. Germany gave him no concern.

Verhältn. zum Papsttum (*Berichte der Phil.-Histor. Klasse der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.*, xii., 1854), maintains that Maximilian had designated Cardinal Adrian as pope; and that these letters are only allegorical masks. Spondanus, who believed that the Emperor entertained this idea, exclaims: *Quantae ineptiae! quanta somniorum phantasmata! quam prodigiosa consilia! Hoc sane reducere erat gentilium Imperatorum vaframenta, quibus Maximum Pontificatum Caesareae dignitati unitum voluerunt.* Ad. A. 1511, n. 16. Hegewisch (*Gesch. der Regier Max. I.*, Hamburg, 1782, ii. 123) also believes the Emperor to have been serious in his intention.

Of the feelings that slumbered in the heart of the German nation he had no idea whatever. Only a few months before his indifferent glance may have rested on an Augustinian monk from Wittenberg, who had come to Rome on matters connected with his convent, and who himself had no prevision of the task of world-wide import to which he was called. He was a man of the people; by his heroic strength of character and fiery impatience, the equal as well as the contemporary of Pope Julius—the Hildebrand of the German reformation.

Julius II. summons a Lateran Council.

Julius had returned to Rome excited and feverstricken on June 27, 1511. There on July 18 he issued the Bull *Sacrosanctae*, by which he summoned a Council in the Lateran for April 19,[1] 1512. The idea had probably been suggested to him by Cardinal Antonio of Monte Sansovino. It was the best policy; it overthrew the schemes of his adversaries.

The Pope now brought his nephew to trial. He cited him to appear in Rome before a tribunal of four cardinals, among whom was Medici. Until sentence was delivered, he deprived him of all his dignities; but on making a deposit of 10,000 scudi, the Duke was allowed to dwell in his house on the Corso, on the site of which the Palazzo Doria Pamfili now stands.

Illness of Julius II.

On August 17 the old Pope suddenly broke down under the burthen of shocks and fatigue. It was

[1] Bull, *Sacrosanctae Rom. Ecclesiae, dat. Romae ap. S. Petr. A.* 1511, *XV. Kal. Aug. Pont. A. VIII., Sigismundus de Comitibus*: Harduin, ix., 1584.

rumoured that he was dead. The palace officials sacked his private apartments; scarcely a piece of linen was left in his bed-chamber. The Duke of Urbino hurried from his prison to the Vatican. He found his uncle still alive; the Jewish physician even gave hope of his recovery. The report of the Pope's death, however, had already spread over Italy, and absent cardinals, the authors of the schism themselves, prepared to journey to the Conclave.[1] All was in commotion in Rome. A thousand uproarious men, citizens, priests, barons, suddenly showed themselves as enemies of the Pope. The great families of the city were furious above all because he had curbed their defiance and had not given the purple to one of their members. For Julius would not permit this degenerate nobility of Rome, who had already been crushed by the Borgia, again to raise their heads. That which had never been risked under Alexander VI.—a revolt in favour of lost liberty—was risked under Julius II.

Pompeo Colonna as demagogue in Rome.

The leader of the malcontents was Pompeo Colonna, son of Girolamo, who had fallen in the civil war of 1482. He had been educated by his uncles Prospero and Cardinal Giovanni at Monte Compatri, and intended for the spiritual career, although his inclinations were entirely for arms. He had served with distinction under Gonsalvo in the Neapolitan war; it was with difficulty that his uncle had prevented him from taking part in the Disfida of Barletta. He fought bravely in the battle on the Liris in 1503. Nevertheless, Prospero forced

[1] Petr. Martyr., xxiv. Ep. 463.

him to adopt the priestly habit, in order that he might inherit the wealthy benefices of Cardinal Giovanni. On the death of Giovanni in 1508, Julius II. made the reluctant Pompeo Bishop of Rieti and Abbot of Grotta Ferrata and Subiaco. The young Colonna was a high-minded and ambitious man, full of fire and energy, and proud of the greatness of his house. He was indignant that on the death of the Cardinals Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, and Cesarini, the Pope had not introduced any leading Roman into the Sacred College.[1] And being now obliged to serve the Church, he aimed at the highest dignity it could offer. As Pope he himself would have ruled Rome like a King, but not being Pope, he made war on the hated papal power with the Ghibelline traditions of his house and the inalienable rights of the Roman people. At this time, when, since the accession of Alexander VI. and Julius II., the popes had become the despots of Rome, Pompeo Colonna represented the principle of Roman liberty, and this fact gives him a distinguished place in the history of the city.

On the rumour of the Pope's death the barons with their armed retainers collected in the city. Pompeo, Roberto Orsini, a son of Paolo, who had been murdered by Caesar Borgia, Giorgio Cesarini, Antimo Savelli and other nobles of the Guelf, as well as the Ghibelline faction, met together.[2] They

[1] Jovius, *Vita Pompeii Columnae*; this excellent biography was written at the request of Francesco Colonna, Archbishop of Rossano. The brothers of Pompeo were Marcello, Giulio and Ottaviano.

[2] The sons of Paolo Orsini were: Roberto, Titular Archbishop of

proceeded to the Capitol to exhort the people to demand the recovery of their ancient rights. It was long since such a demand had been heard here. Three conservators and a senator—at this time Pietro de Squarcialupis of Florence—represented the civic government. The citizens may well have been surprised as they listened to the impassioned discourse in which a young bishop appealed to the shades of the past. With the voice of a Porcaro, Pompeo spoke of the liberty of the Roman republic and the disgrace of the priestly rule. "It was an insult to the glory of the Roman name that the property of the citizens should have become the spoils of the avarice of a few priests; that only the phantoms of ancient honours should have been left to the city; that senators and conservators only showed themselves in the pomp of processions as ridiculous masqueraders in gold brocade. The old city families had been deprived of every honour, since not one of their members had been admitted to the dignity of cardinal.[1] If the holiness of popes in former days had made their rule endurable, what virtue or dignity now remained to cover the infamy of slavery? Was it the immaculate life, the holy example of the priests or their miracles? What class of men was so corrupt and immoral? The only miracle was that the justice of God tolerated

Speech of Pompeo Colonna on the Capitol.

Reggio; Fabio, who fell on the Garigliano in 1503; and Camillo, who died in 1559.

[1] Jovius (*ut supra*) gives with malicious satisfaction the speech of his hero, the contents of which he certainly cannot have entirely invented.

such crimes so long. Was this tyranny supported by the valour of arms, by intellect and virile energy, or by the constant thought of preserving the majesty of the Papacy? What class of men was further removed from learning and arms, more abandoned to pleasure and idleness, and more indifferent to the dignity and advantage of their successors? In all the world there were only two like principalities, that of the Pope and that of the Sultan of Egypt; there also neither the dignity of the chief nor the offices of the Mamelukes were hereditary; but they were at least men accustomed to arms, bold and warlike and far removed from all effeminacy. The Romans on the contrary were the slaves of cowards and foreigners, frequently as ignoble in blood as in morals. It was time to shake off such lethargy and remember that they were Romans."[1]

This discourse and other speeches produced such effect that the conservators Marcantonio Altieri and Giulio Stefanuccio offered to arm the people, to superintend the conclave, and to compel the cardinals to reinstate the city in her rights. The new Pope must also promise to bestow the purple on four Romans. Finally S. Angelo must be handed over for good to the people. These men belonged to the antiquarian and academical school in which the ideas of Cola di Rienzo and Stefano Porcaro still survived. Marcantonio Altieri was the pupil of

[1] The speech is quoted with equal satisfaction by Guicciardini (x. 393); it is the bitterest invective against the temporal power of the Papacy, and could not be surpassed even now.

Pomponius Letus, an ardent patriot and a highly cultivated man.[1]

Recovery of the Pope.

The whole city was in arms and tumult when tidings arrived from the Vatican that the old Pope had wakened from his profound swoon. The formidable Julius arose indeed; he recovered owing to the skill of his physician Scipio Lancelotti; a drink of malmsey and a peach restored his vitality. Several cardinals, who had hoped that his end had come, "remained as if dead on his recovery."[2] He was purposely kept in ignorance of what had occurred on the Capitol. With death still before his eyes he gave his nephew absolution. The Duke or his adroit defender, Filippo Beroaldo the younger, had little difficulty in proving that the murdered cardinal had been a traitor, and Francesco Maria was reinstated by papal authority in all his honours.[3]

Peace made with the Roman barons on the Capitol, Aug. 28, 1511.

On the Capitol meanwhile, instead of the overthrow of the State, a peace between the barons was effected. In the beginning of August, the citizens had brought about a reconciliation between the Colonna, Orsini and other houses, in order that

[1] He was son of Girolamo Altieri of the Region Pigna, was born in 1450 and died in 1532. Enrico Narducci (*Intorno alla vita ed agli scritti di M. A. Altieri*, Rome, 1873, p. 12) gives a report by Altieri to Renzo da Cere of the condition of Rome during the illness of the Pope, and this letter shows that Altieri was neither hostile to the Pope nor engaged in rebellious schemes.

[2] *La più parte di cardinali e restati come morti per la valetudine del papa credendo el morisse perche harebeno voluto far papa novo di liga.* Letter of the Protonotary Lipomano to his brother, Rome, August 29, 1511. (Marin Sanuto, xii. fol. 249.)

[3] Leoni, *Vita di Francesco Maria Duca d'Urbino*, p. 136. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, ii. 328.

the Council, which was near at hand, might not be disturbed. Altieri, the deputy of the region Pigna, made a touching speech to the barons assembled in the hall of the Capitol. He described the misery of Rome which had been caused by her passions, her crimes and her disunion. On this account the Pope had been compelled to withhold all offices and honours from the Romans. It was the Orsini and Colonna who corrupted and dishonoured the Roman citizens and made Rome a desert. The speech of this new Cicero took effect. The heads or envoys of the parties, Fabrizio Colonna, Giulio Orsini, Antimo Savelli, Giovan Conte, Fabio Anguillara, Paolo Planca, the representative of the Cesarini and others solemnly swore to abolish all enmity, all factious organisation under the fatal names of Guelf and Ghibelline, and pledged themselves henceforward to strive for the maintenance of the peace, the welfare of the city of Rome, and the preservation of the spiritual rule to the honour of Pope Julius.[1]

Such was the Roman Peace, so celebrated in the annals of the city. It marked an epoch, for if it does not signalise the end of the despotic rule of the barons in Rome, it indicates at least a great change in the civic conditions and a revulsion in favour of public order. The Pope hailed the treaty with joy.

[1] The speech of Altieri is given in Narducci, *l.c.*, p. 14. The Act in Floravanti, *Antiqui Romanor. Pontif. Denarii*, p. 161. See also on this, *Pax Romana*, Girol. Amati in the Album, vol. xiv. 264 f. Coppi, *Memor. Colonn.*, p. 257. Four citizens signed the act for each region. Separate declarations, such as those made by Pompeo and Prospero, followed.

He even caused a coin to be struck with the inscription *Pax Romana*.[1]

He now learnt of the speeches made on the Capitol, the news of which was brought him by Elisabetta, Duchess of Urbino, who feared the claims of the Colonna on the duchy on the ground of Fabrizio's marriage with Agnese of Montefeltre. Pompeo withdrew from the reach of the Pope's anger. He went to Nemi, where he wanted to collect adherents and to discuss with the agents of France measures for the Pope's overthrow. He was also joined by the young Pietro Margano, who had stabbed the chief of the police on the Campo di Fiore and now feared for his head. Meanwhile Prospero dissuaded his nephew from any further enterprise. Pompeo withdrew to his strong fortress of Subiaco, while Roberto Orsini and Margano fled to France.[2]

5. THE HOLY LEAGUE, OCTOBER 1511—FAILURE OF THE COUNCIL OF PISA—GASTON DE FOIX COMES TO THE RELIEF OF BOLOGNA—BATTLE NEAR RAVENNA, APRIL 11, 1512.

Julius II. was henceforward occupied by but one thought: how to drive the French from Italy. At the end of his life, he determined as patriot to atone to his country for his sins as cardinal. He contem-

[1] Coin in Floravanti, Tab. i. (Julius II.) n. 3, p. 161.

[2] According to Jovius (*vita Pompeii*), Elisabetta Gonzaga prevented the reconciliation with Pompeo, in dread of the claims which the Colonna might raise to Urbino, Fabrizio having had children by his marriage with Agnesina, sister of Guidobaldo.

plated revenge on Lewis XII., who refused him Bologna, harassed him with the schism and caused him to be mocked in caricatures. He now wished to dissolve the league of Cambray, his own work, and to form another for his deliverance. He succeeded, since the growing power of France excited universal dread. The alliance of the Emperor with his rival in Italy, with the hereditary enemy of the Empire, was so unnatural that the Pope hoped to dissolve it. Ferdinand of Spain had recovered the cities on the Neapolitan coast, and had therefore no longer any reason for making war on Venice, but sufficient grounds for preventing France from striking root in Italy. He formed an alliance with the Pope for the defence of the Church against the attacks of France and the schismatic cardinals; he pledged himself to attack Lewis XII. in Navarre. This "Holy League" was solemnly proclaimed on October 5, 1511, in S. Maria del Popolo. The Pope breathed freely again. The Venetians joined it; admission to it was left open to Henry VIII. (Ferdinand's son-in-law) and to the Emperor.[1]

The Holy Alliance, Oct. 5, 1511.

Money formed the sinews of the war. He who had money had Swiss at command. Schinner, the bitter enemy of France, who had been made a cardinal in March, exerted himself as instrument of the Pope, among the confederates, with whom he concluded a mercenary treaty. These brave mountaineers, formidable by reason of the military organisation

Julius II. concludes a mercenary treaty with the Swiss.

[1] The Bull, *Cum civitas nostra Bononiensis*, Rome, October 4, 1511, printed in *Lettres du Roy Louis XII.* (Brussels, 1712), iii. 65, contains the articles of the league with Aragon and Venice.

which they had introduced into their infantry, had already left behind the glorious period when they fought battles in the cause of freedom. Instead of becoming a political power in Europe, which the character of their country and its constitution alike forbade, they became a mercenary force in the pay of foreign tyrants. For a whole half century French gold had seduced the Swiss to serve in the wars waged by the French in their thirst for conquest, until Julius II. detached them from the niggardly Lewis XII.[1] On the eve of their own separation from Rome they discovered as much profit as honour in serving as the defenders of the Papacy.

In the meantime the schismatics held their Council in Pisa. Reluctantly the Florentines had surrendered this city to King Lewis for so dangerous a purpose. Machiavelli, whom the republic had sent to France to arrange that the synod should be held elsewhere, had been unable to accomplish his mission.[2] Florence feared the Pope, who warned her. On October 24 Julius deposed the schismatic cardinals, condemned all their confederates and abettors, and laid Pisa under interdict. He saw with satisfaction that Maximilian gave ear to his nuncios. Since the German bishops would have

[1] Glutz-Blotzheim, p. 243 ff. Claude de Seyssel (*Hist. de roy Louis XII.*, ed. Paris, 1587, p. 61) observes that since the time of Lewis XI., Swiss and Germans had devoted themselves to the shameful vocation of mercenaries; for Lewis XI., recognising that the wealth of France consisted in the industrial force of the people, had, in order to spare them, hired the Swiss as soldiers.

[2] *Legazione quarta alla corte di Roma* in vol. x. of the *Opere minori* of Machiavelli.

nothing to say to the Council, the Emperor, who at first had been full of zeal and in accord with France, now allowed the matter to drop.[1] In vain had Cardinal Sanseverino hastened to him to promise him heaven and earth, the tiara, the imperial crown and the Kingdom of Naples.[2] He sent no representatives to Pisa. Under the ban of the Pope only two archbishops, fourteen bishops and some abbots of France assembled there on November 5, 1511. Carvajal was made president, Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, guardian of the Council. It was solely due to the protection of the French troops that this pitiable assembly was defended from the fury of the Pisans, who shut the doors of the Cathedral. The schismatic cardinals recalled with despondency the sensation which the first council of union had evoked in Pisa a hundred years before. They themselves were merely ambitious hypocrites, actuated by no desire for the reform of the Church, but wholly by motives of self-interest. Their deliberations were conducted without dignity, their discussions found no echo in the world, and they lived in constant dread. When an encounter between the Pisans and French threatened them with danger, they transferred the Council after its third sitting to Milan, where the King's nephew, the young hero Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, ruled as viceroy.

Opening of the Council in Pisa, Nov. 5, 1511.

It is transferred to Milan.

[1] He had assembled them at Augsburg: Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, x. 110.

[2] Mezeray, ii. 339. Lewis had ordered all the French bishops to go to Pisa; *tametsi sedecim dumtaxat galli Pontifices III. Kal. Nov. Pisas nigressi numerarentur*; Belcar., xiii. 369.

The war was now to begin. The Pope had drained the ecclesiastical treasury to equip his army, of which Giovanni Medici was legate. In alliance with the Spaniards under Raimondo de Cardona, the viceroy of Naples, and supported by the Venetians under Giampolo Baglione, they were to proceed against Bologna and Ferrara. The league had given the Pope an almost overwhelming superiority over his enemy. For Lewis XII. possessed only one ally—Ferrara; while Maximilian did nothing, but rather lent an increasingly ready ear to the representations of the Pope. The Colonna and other barons of Rome in the pay of France were divided among themselves and threatened by the Spaniards from Naples.

Gaston de Foix victorious over the army of the League

It was still winter when the Venetians advanced against Lombardy, and 12,000 Swiss descended from the Alps. They were driven back, however, by the brave Gaston. With the allied Spanish and papal army the incapable Cardona laid siege to Bologna, the main object of the war. The defence of this closely harassed city was conducted by the Bentivogli, Ivo d'Allegre and the lord of Lautrec. It was already nearing its fall when, on February 5, 1512, Gaston succeeded in throwing himself into it with troops. This relief forced the army of the league to a hurried retreat into the Romagna, whither the chief seat of war was soon transferred. Gaston again left Bologna to return to Lombardy. Here he took by storm the rebellious towns of Brescia and Bergamo, when Brescia suffered a cruel sack; then, joining the Duke of Ferrara, he marched

to the Romagna at the end of March 1512. The King had ordered him to put an end to the war by a decisive battle before the Swiss invaded Milanese territory, before Ferdinand attacked Navarre, before Henry VIII. landed in Normandy and the Emperor declared himself an enemy. He was to give the Romagna and the rest of the State of the Church to Cardinal Sanseverino for the future pope, and to occupy Naples with the victorious army.[1]

Gaston de Foix marches to Ravenna.

On Gaston's advance the allies retired to Faenza in order to prolong the war. In Easter week the prince appeared before Ravenna. Here lay Marcantonio Colonna with only 1500 infantry and some cavalry under Pedro de Castro, too weak to resist any vigorous attack, although able successfully to repulse the first onslaught, which was made on Good Friday, April 9.[2] The distress of Ravenna now forced the army of the league at Faenza to come to its relief. On April 10, 1512, the allies halted three miles from the city and fortified their camp by a deep trench. The French encamped opposite between the rivers Ronco and Montone, which meet under the walls of Ravenna and thence flow through low and marshy country to the sea. Here in former days had lain the harbour of Classis, of which we are reminded by the ancient basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe. Behind stretches the Pineta with its majestic trees, where in long-past heroic days

[1] Bernardo Bibiena to the Legate, Rome, March 19–22, 1512, in Desjardins, *Négotiations* ii. 576.

[2] Jacopo Guicciardini, writing to his brother Francesco, gives a good and accurate account of these events: *Archiv. Stor.*, xv. 308.

Theodoric had encamped when fighting with Odoacer for the possession of Italy. The splendour of this residence of the last Roman emperors, of the Gothic kings, afterwards of the Exarchs, of the powerful archbishops, then of the Polentani, from whom it had passed into the hands of the Venetians, had disappeared, and even in 1512 Ravenna presented a spectacle of utter decay. But here, better than in any other Italian city, a special destiny has preserved the monuments of the past; churches glittering with Byzantine mosaics, marvellous sepulchral monuments, the tomb of Galla Placidia, the Mausoleum of Theodoric, and lastly the modest chapel in which lies Italy's greatest poet.

Battle of Ravenna, April 11, 1512.

On these classic fields and on the sacred day of Easter was fought one of the bloodiest of battles, in which the combatants were the Most Christian King and the Most Holy Pope. The rival armies were formed of the best troops in Europe, and were led by the most celebrated generals. Under Gaston stood 8000 French and Italians, 5000 Gascons, 5000 German mercenaries, a splendid force of cavalry, a picked body of artillery, which Alfonso had placed at his command. With the general were Ivo d'Allegre, Lautrec, La Palisse, Bayard, Jacob of Ems, Federigo Gonzaga da Bozzolo, the Duke of Ferrara, and several other renowned leaders. The still more numerous army of the allies, composed of Spanish veterans of the great Gonsalvo and of Italians, was led by Cardona, under whom served Count Pedro Navarro, the young Marquis of Pescara, Fernando d'Avalos, his father-in-law

Fabrizio Colonna, Prospero, the Marquis of Bitonto, Diego de Quinoñes, Carvajal, Alarcon, the young Antonio de Leyva, and other great nobles from Spain, Naples and Sicily. To each army was assigned a cardinal-legate, to the French Sanseverino in the name of the Council at Milan, to the other Giovanni Medici. The schismatic cardinal, who owed his dignity to Innocent VIII., was son of the celebrated Roberto of Sanseverino, and was a man of gigantic build. Clad in steel, he rode a charger, while his rival, the effeminate Cardinal Medici (a year later he became Leo X.), robed in cardinal's vestments, was mounted on a white horse.

On April 11 Gaston crossed the Ronco in order to decoy the enemy out of their camp. For two hours the armies stood exposed to the destructive fire of each other's artillery. Alfonso's guns, which cleverly raked the flank of the allied army, worked great havoc in the closely-serried ranks, especially among the *hommes d'armes*, while at Navarro's command the infantry had thrown themselves flat on the ground. To escape the deadly hail of shot, Fabrizio at length crossed the trenches with the heavy cavalry, and thus compelled Navarro to follow with the Spanish infantry. The battle raged along the banks of the Ronco. The brunt of it fell on the infantry, here on the Spanish veterans, there on the Germans under Jacob of Ems and Philip of Freiberg. For the sons of Germany also had long fought for pay under foreign banners. In vain patriots complained that the French conquered with German blood those Italian domains for which their

forefathers had once fought so gloriously. The disgrace was the consequence of the dismemberment of Germany among a hundred territorial princes and of the contempt into which the imperial authority had fallen, no emperor being any longer capable of endowing it with the strength that springs from union.[1] Germans and Spaniards fiercely contended for the victory. The rage of battle took possession of every division of troops. The earth groaned under the din of war and was veiled in dark clouds of dust. The Spanish cavalry wavered before the stronger force of France, the Picards and Gascons before the Italian infantry, when Ivo d'Allegre, overwhelmed with grief for the death of his son, plunged into their midst. A shot struck him dead to the ground. The ranks of the allies broke, and flight threw the lines into confusion, while the banks of the Ronco stood piled with the ruins of waggons, and the bodies of men and horses. The viceroy beheld Fabrizio's troops almost annihilated, and fled with the second division in the direction of Cesena. Fabrizio was wounded, and yielded himself a prisoner to Alfonso.[2] Even the stoutest-hearted fell a prey to panic; the brave Carvajal fled from the battle-field with loosened rein "like a hare before the hounds," and rode day and night until he reached

[1] See what Michael Coccinius of Tübingen says concerning this weakness of Germany, on the occasion of the battle of Ravenna. He exhorts the country to unity and to obedience towards the Emperor. *De bello Maximil. cum Venetis*, Freher, ii. 564.

[2] *Et a lui me resi salvomi con tanto amore che li sero semper obligato*, thus writes Fabrizio to Ser Camillo from the Castle of Ferrara on April 28, 1512: M. Sanuto, vol. xiv. fol. 93.

Giovanni Medici a prisoner.

Rome.[1] Cardinal Medici, who had bad sight, in his blindness found himself surrounded and carried off. He was encompassed by Epirote horsemen; the brave Gonzaga da Bozzolo, although wounded himself, saved him from their hands and led him a prisoner to Cardinal Sanseverino, his former friend, now his opponent, who received him with the highest demonstrations of honour. More fortunate was Giulio Medici, Knight of Rhodes; he, the future Pope Clement VII., escaped with Antonio de Leyva to Cesena.

While the cavalry thus scattered in flight, the battle was carried on between the Spanish infantry and the Germans. It was terrible, as it were a duel between giants. The fall of Jacob only made the Germans the fiercer. With a forest of lances they met the fiery Spaniards, who, armed with poniards and short swords, sprang from under their enemies' weapons. Gaston saw the peril of the German infantry, and with the *hommes d'armes* charged the Spanish ranks. The veterans wavered under the formidable attack. Navarro was taken prisoner, and, still 3000 men strong, they retired backwards in perfect order, fighting every foot. Never was seen a more glorious retreat. The young Gaston, bearing the palm of victory, saw the crown of Naples, perhaps of Italy, before his eyes. To put an end to the battle he dashed forward with the heavy cavalry to drive these Spartan Spaniards from the bank into the river. A rifle bullet felled him from his horse. The infuriated Spaniards fell upon him;

[1] Petr. Martyr., xxv. ep. 484.

the noble horseman shouted his name and told them that he was the brother of the Queen of Spain. They mercilessly stabbed him to death. Thus fell the hero of four and twenty years in the first blush of his career, the most brilliant figure in the French warfare of his time. Odet de Foix, his cousin, also lay beside him bleeding from serious wounds. The pursuit was now relaxed; the Spaniards retired to Cesena, whither all the fugitives made their way.

Death of Gaston de Foix.

The artillery of Ferrara and the bravery of the German infantry decided the great battle. It had been a day of carnage; thousands covered the field;[1] several celebrated captains lay dead. The losses of the allies were overwhelming; the whole camp, artillery, baggage, numerous prisoners, captains and nobles had fallen into the power of the enemy; Cardinal Medici, Fabrizio Colonna, Pedro Navarro, Count Ercole Pignatelli, the Marchesi of Pescara, of Bitonto and of Telle, and Don Juan Cardona were prisoners. The day of Ravenna saw the star of Julius II. at its nadir, that of Lewis XII. at its zenith. But Lewis's victory was like that of Hannibal. Gaston was dead, and the loss of this idolised general left the exhausted army irresolute and without a leader. They retired to their camp, where the trembling messengers from Ravenna immediately arrived. Promise was given that the city should be spared, but in their thirst for spoil Germans and Gascons entered through the breach,

Ravenna sacked.

[1] Buonaccorsi reckoned 12,000 Spaniards and 4000 French; Jovius 20,000 in all. — Julius Caesar Scaliger, who afterwards acquired celebrity, was also mortally wounded in the battle.

and Ravenna suffered nameless horrors from the fury of an enemy drunk with blood. These were only ended by the entrance of La Palisse. On the fourth day Marcantonio capitulated in the fortress, from which he withdrew.

Rimini, Forli, Cesena, Cervia, Imola, Faenza opened their gates to the victor. In a few days the Pope lost the entire Romagna, for the possession of which he had made such mighty efforts. The way to the Kingdom of Naples, the roads to Rome lay open to the enemy, and what might not have happened had Gaston still lived?[1]

[1] Had Gaston not exposed himself to death, he would have conquered Rome and all besides. All would have surrendered to him. (Zieglers) *Geschichte aller Bischöff zu Rom.* : Heidelb. MS. 102–271. See also the opinion of Belcarius, xiii. 390. After the battle Sanseverino had moved on the Flaminia *cum recta via urbem Romam peteret, Juliumque pont. sede pellere constitueret*: Morone to Steph. Poncher, Bishop of Paris and Pro-chancellor of France, from Mortara, June 21, 1512: *Lett. ed orazioni di Girol. Morone*, ed. Promis and Müller. *Miscell. di Storia Ital.*, t. ii., Turin, 1863.

6. IMPRESSION CREATED BY THE BATTLE IN ROME—THE SWISS SAVE THE POPE—THE LATERAN COUNCIL, MAY 3, 1512—NEW LEAGUE AGAINST FRANCE—WAR IN LOMBARDY — FLIGHT OF GIOVANNI MEDICI—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH—THE POPE RECOVERS BOLOGNA—ALFONSO IN ROME—JULIUS II. SEIZES REGGIO AND MODENA—THE LEAGUE AGAINST FLORENCE CARRIED INTO EFFECT—RETURN OF THE MEDICI — PARMA AND PIACENZA SURRENDER THEMSELVES TO THE POPE—DISSENSIONS BETWEEN ALL PARTIES — THE SWISS ENVOYS IN ROME — MATHIAS LANG IN ROME — CONGRESS—LEAGUE BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND POPE AGAINST VENICE—THE EMPEROR RECOGNISES THE LATERAN COUNCIL — MASSIMILIANO SFORZA INSTALLED IN MILAN—END OF JULIUS II.

The news of the battle was brought to Rome by Ottaviano di Campo Fregoso, who arrived as courier on April 14. Great was the consternation at the Vatican. The cardinals threw themselves at the feet of the Pope, urgently demanding peace, telling him that all was lost and that only speedy submission could save the Papacy; the not wholly unfavourable conditions which the King had offered during the war must be signed forthwith. The Curia, the priests and the people were in a state of agitation and dismay. Pompeo Colonna, Pietro Margano, Roberto Orsini and other barons in the pay of France lay encamped in the Latin and Volscian mountains awaiting the arrival of the French; for it was said that Palisse, by the express

orders of the King, was in full march against Rome. Julius was advised to fly, and at first seriously contemplated flight;[1] then with admirable strength of will he collected his energies. If his courage ever really deserted him, it was restored by the arrival of Fra Giulio Medici on April 15. With the consent of Sanseverino, Giulio had visited his cousin, who was a prisoner, and who had sent him as envoy to Rome. He told the Pope that the French army was in evil plight. And the statement was true, for Palisse, the new general, and the ambitious cardinal-legate were at variance; Alfonso, to whom the chief command had been offered, had with astute foresight declined it and retired to his states. Medici represented to the Pope that the Swiss were about to invade the Milanese provinces with a large force, and that the brunt of the war must consequently be diverted from the Romagna. The Pope immediately recalled the ambassadors of Spain and Venice. "I will stake 100,000 ducats and my crown," he said, "that I will drive the French from Italy."

Fortitude of Julius II. after the battle.

Julius in accepting the articles of peace deluded the Cardinals and the King of France; he allowed the English and Venetian ambassadors to raise objections, and finally declared that he would not withdraw from the league but would continue the war. With surprising skill he steered his bark between the rocks, disarmed his enemies far and

[1] Jovius, *Vita Pomp. Colon.*, p. 56. Guicciardini, x. Bartol. Senarega, *De Reb. Genuens.* Murat., xxiv. 613. Bernard. Aluni, *De bello Veneto*, v. 192.

near, with diplomatic art kept the King at bay and set a formidable league in motion against him. He also took measures for his protection in Rome by bringing a few thousand men from the ruins of Ravenna. It was the Swiss, "these good physicians for the French disease," who, in fact, saved him, and deprived King Lewis of the fruits of his most brilliant victory. Seldom has been witnessed such a marvellous change of fortune.

On the news that 20,000 Swiss, enlisted by Cardinal Sitten, were descending from the Alps, and on the assurance that peace was to be concluded, Palisse not only abandoned his march to Rome, but even left the Romagna in order to repair to Lombardy. The Roman barons, who were moreover opposed by Giulio Orsini and John Jordan, the son-in-law of the Pope, were now also helpless. These nobles, even Pompeo and Roberto Orsini, pocketed the French gold and continued idle, or allowed themselves to be won over by the Pope.[1] Only Pietro Margano remained incorruptible. Terrror in Rome gave place to the conviction that nothing more was to be dreaded from the French army.

In full security and with ostentatious pomp, the aged Pope opened the Lateran Council on May 3. The evening before he had gone in a great procession to the Lateran, when so entirely military was the

Julius II. opens the Lateran Council, May 3, 1512.

[1] Roberto Orsini was made Archbishop of Reggio: Jovius, *Vita Pomp. Col.* After the expulsion of the French, the Pope deposed Pompeo and gave his revenues to Marcant. Colonna. Pompeo then built the fortress of Cervara, near Subiaco. On the death of Julius the Cardinal restored him to his dignities.

cortège advancing to open the Council, that heavy cavalry and nine cannon even appeared at the end of the procession.[1] The Rhodian knights undertook the part of the guard of honour.[2] Fifteen cardinals, fourteen patriarchs, ten archbishops, fifty-seven Italian bishops, and some abbots and generals of orders formed this sparsely-attended synod. No great prince was present, only a few envoys; Jerome Vich for Spain, Francesco Foscari for Venice, Antonio Strozzi for Florence, the Roman senator Pietro Squarcialupi, some Orsini and Marcantonio Colonna. Still influenced by the impression left by the battle of Ravenna, the most celebrated preacher of the time, Egidius of Viterbo, General of the Augustinians, delivered the opening address. He said with candour that the defeat of the papal army was a sign from God to show that the Church should be defeated when she leaned on arms that were not appropriate to her, and that she ought to return to her own weapons, to religion, veracity, prayer, to the armour of faith and the sword of light. Through deeds of love and not through iron and blood had she conquered the world in the beginning. The revered orator depicted the profound corruption of the time and of the priesthood, and

Speech of Egidius of Viterbo in presence of the Council.

[1] *Retroguardia de homini darme circha* 100 *et dopo nove falconeti in carette et molti archibusi et infinita turba dopo*: Letters from Rome in M. Sanuto, vol. xiv. fol. 110. The procession is there described by the Venetian ambassador, Franc. Foscari, Letter of May 3.

[2] Harduin, *Concil.*, ix., 1574. As I write these pages in Rome (December 1870), while the council is assembled in S. Peter's, the guard of honour is formed by the same knights, now called Knights of Malta.

expressed the beautiful but vain hope, that this council would restore the well-being of Italy, the world and the Church.[1] The aged Pope might well smile at these theories; they were magnificent and based on the Gospel, but provinces could not thereby be reconquered.

In the second sitting the General of the Dominicans, Tommaso de Vio, was the speaker, and his utterances proved more agreeable to the Roman Curia, for the learned scholastic demonstrated that the Pope was the monarch of the Church and stood above the Council. In this sitting the acts of the Synods of Pisa and Milan were condemned. While Julius thus made war on the schism and Gallican opposition with the weapons of clerical legitimism, he placed himself at the head of the league which he had concluded with Spain, the Emperor (who had already been won over), England and Venice. The object of this league was to drive the French from Italy, and to secure the safety of the Church and the State of the Church. This league was announced on May 17.

New league against France, May 17, 1512.

The power of France in Italy vanished like mist. A great victory resulted only in defeat. This is explained by the mode of warfare of the time, which must now appear childish and rude. Strategical plans were almost unknown. There was no calculation, no forethought; war was a blind adventure, and accident decided its issues. In the beginning

[1] *Oratio prima Synodi Lateranensis*, Harduin, ix., 1579, and in Ferronus, *De reb. gestis Gallorum*. Basle edition, iv. 123. The address made a great sensation.

of June the Swiss descended into the province of Verona; they joined the Venetians, and a papal army marched against the Romagna. Step by step the French under Palisse and Trivulzio were driven backwards, pursued by the allies, their forces reduced by the loss of the German mercenaries, who had left them at the order of Maximilian. The cities of North Italy threw off the yoke of France; the Milanese rose and massacred all the French. To this city, where the slain Gaston had been buried with great pomp, Cardinal Medici was brought a prisoner, for here the schismatic cardinals still held their synod. Its prestige was overshadowed by that of the cardinal; even enemies had hastened to him to receive dispensations and absolutions, the Pope having furnished him with plenary powers. The schismatic cardinals, who had determined to remove their synod to Lyons, following the wake of the retreating army, carried him with them. In crossing the Po at Bassignana, however, with the help of good friends Medici effected his escape. Had the attempt been unsuccessful, it is probable that he would have awaited in a French prison the election of a new Pope.

Cardinal Medici escapes from imprisonment.

Retreat of the French from Italy.

With great difficulty the marshals led the remains of Gaston's army across the Alps to France. They were summoned thither by the King, who was already harassed in his own dominions by England and Spain. Within but three months of his victory at Ravenna he saw his rule in Italy shattered as it were by a stroke of magic. Only a few fortresses in Lombardy and the Romagna remained to him.

Asti fell, even Genoa revolted and proclaimed Giano Fregoso as Doge. Julius, who had so recently thought of flight, again stood at the summit of fortune and power. He caused Rome to be illuminated, and processions to be made through the city on the day of SS. Peter and Paul. He exhorted Florence and other towns to celebrate the deliverance of the country as a national festival.[1] On him —the Saviour of Italy—all patriots looked with admiration. The moment had now come to grasp quickly at anything that would increase the State of the Church. On June 10 the Bentivogli fled, and Bologna surrendered to the Duke of Urbino. The defection of this city had angered the vindictive Pope to such a degree, that it was believed he would have destroyed Bologna and transplanted the inhabitants to Cento, had not death intervened.[2]

Bologna surrenders to the Pope.

He was equally indignant with Ferrara. What other course was open to Alfonso than that of seeking safety in speedy submission? He had won the Colonna to his side, the imprisoned Fabrizio having been treated by him with chivalrous courtesy and released without a ransom. With his aid and by the intercession of his brother-in-law, Gonzaga of Mantua, he hoped to obtain a reconciliation with the angry Pope. They advised him to go to Rome and procure a safe-conduct from the Vatican. On

[1] *Ut quod non solum Italia ipsa liberata, sed et remotissime nationes pro tanto munere et mirabili quidem re preces Deo dare deberent. . . .* Brief to the Florentines, Rome, June 27, 1512. Archives of Florence, *Atti. pubbl.*. The Signory declined. Nardi, v. 144. Julius soon caused the Florentines to adopt another tone.

[2] Mezeray, ii. 347.

the night of July 4 he entered, accompanied by Fabrizio, and was greeted by Federigo Gonzaga, son of Francesco, and by some of the Orsini. He made his dwelling with the Cardinal of Mantua near S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The appearance of the celebrated Duke, who was held responsible for the defeat at Ravenna, made a great sensation. The Pope received Fabrizio Colonna with the words: "Welcome art thou, who art one of the liberators of Italy." To the Duke himself in his first audience he showed a friendliness that may have seemed ominous. The forms of absolution were discussed. It was said that, a cord round his neck and in the shirt of a penitent, the Duke was to kneel outside the doors of S. Peter's and receive a scourging; and dense crowds in expectation filled the piazza of the cathedral. Alfonso, however, received absolution in the Vatican, and without these barbaric ceremonies.[1] A commission of six cardinals was to complete the work of reconciliation. Meanwhile, the Duke heard that Francesco Maria had profited by his absence to occupy several of his cities, even Reggio itself, for the Pope. He was still more astounded when Julius requested him to cede Ferrara, offering him Asti as indemnity. To his enemy Alberto Pio, with whom he was at strife concerning Carpi, was due this sudden change of attitude on the part of the Pope.[2] Julius remained some days in S. Angelo from no other motive than

Alfonso of Este receives absolution in Rome.

[1] Paris de Grassis—Chigi, iii. 403. He was obliged to visit the four principal churches.

[2] Muratori, *Antich. Estensi*, ii. 312.

the hope of enticing Alfonso into the fortress to an audience, and then not allowing him to leave it.[1] When Alfonso perceived that the Pope, with the cunning of a Borgia, wished to entrap him, he demanded, in virtue of his safe-conduct, permission to leave Rome. Julius refused it. When reminded by the noble gentlemen Fabrizio and Marcantonio of his given word, he overwhelmed them with furious and insulting words.[2] They immediately forced an exit through the Porta S. Giovanni, and taking Alfonso between them, conducted him in safety to their Castle of Marino (July 19). They kept their guest here for three months, and only then were they able to help him to escape. In disguise and amid many dangers, Alfonso fled to the Kingdom of Naples, then by sea to the mouth of the Po, whence he reached Ferrara.[3] The Pope fumed with rage; the Spanish envoy with difficulty prevented him hurling ban and excommunication against the Colonna; some months later, however, he deprived Pompeo of all his dignities as guilty of high treason. In August he seized Modena, a city which, like Reggio, had hitherto belonged to the Duke of Ferrara, but had stood under the supremacy of the Empire. In vain Alfonso strove to appease the anger of the Pope. He sent Ariosto to him. But

He escapes from Rome.

[1] Letters from Rome of July 19, 1512, in M. Sanuto, xiv. 256.

[2] Buonaccorsi, p. 178. It is the same Fabrizio, in whose mouth Machiavelli places his opinions on military science in the *Arte della Guerra*. He died at Aversa in March 1520, and is buried at Palliano. His wife Agnese, daughter of Federigo of Urbino, died in 1522. Their children were Ascanio and Vittoria Colonna.

[3] Bembo narrates the flight, *Histor. Venet.*, xii. 515.

scarcely had the celebrated poet presented himself before Julius, when he was obliged to seek safety in flight, for the Pope threatened to drown him like a dog in the Tiber.[1]

Florence was now also to expiate its conduct in having, out of friendship to France, opened Pisa to the schismatics. This republic, still ruled by Soderini, saw its fate approaching—the return of the Medici. Julius, who, on his uncle Sixtus's account, had borne a grudge to this family in the beginning, had been reconciled to them, chiefly on the ground of the intimate friendship that had existed between his beloved nephew Galeotto and Cardinal Giovanni. He now determined to reward Giovanni's services, and thereby punish the Florentines in their most sensitive point, that is by forcing them to receive the Medici. During the war Florence had preserved an equivocal neutrality, and after the retreat of the French, had declined the invitation to enter the Holy League. The allies met in a congress at Mantua, where Italian affairs were to be settled, and here was decided the fate of Florence in the recall of the Medici, an act so modern in its character that it reminds us of the congresses at Laibach and Verona. Julius, although not accustomed to dissemble, now acted the hypocrite. He told Cardinal Soderini, and Antonio Strozzi, the orator of the Florentines, that he hated the Spaniards no less

Execution against Florence of the terms of the alliance.

[1] Franc. Vettori, *Sommario della Storia d'Italia dal* 1511 *al* 1527, *Archiv. Stor.*, App. vi. 288, ed. Reumont. Ariosto jests about the anger of the Pope, which deprived him of any wish to return to Rome. Satire 2, to Aless. Ariosto and Lod. da Bagno.

than the French, that he wished to drive them from Italy, and would never consent to their exercising any influence on the city of Florence.[1] Nevertheless the viceroy Cardona, accompanied by Cardinal Medici as Legate of Tuscany, came from Bologna and entered the territory of the republic in July. He took Prato by assault on August 30, when this unfortunate city suffered the most cruel sack. Florence trembled. The following day the peace party overthrew the government. Soderini resigned, left the city and fled before the anger of the Pope across the sea to Ragusa. The new popular government decreed that the Medici should return and henceforth live in Florence as private citizens. The Viceroy hereupon entered the city on September 14, and with him, after an exile of eighteen years, came the Medici, first Giuliano, then his brother the Cardinal and his nephew Lorenzo.[2] They slunk in like foxes, always following after the work was done, spying and masked. A government of the Medicean party was immediately installed, and Giuliano, who, owing to the death of his brother Piero, was now heir to the house of Cosimo, stepped to the head of the State, the soul of which was undoubtedly Cardinal Giovanni.[3]

The Medici return to Florence, Sept. 14, 1512.

[1] Francesco Vettori, *ut supra*, p. 290.

[2] Cardinal Medici said: *intrassemo—con comune letitia del populo usque adeo che in questa parte la nra opinione fuit re ipsa longe superata*: Letter from Florence, September 16, 1512, to Pietro da Bibiena, his secretary. (M. Sanuto, vol. xv. fol. 54.)

[3] The Pope wrote to the Florentines: *Gallis Itali nominis atque nostris et S. R. E. hostibus notissimis Italia pulsis nihil ad conversationem restitute libertatis superesse videbatur, preterquam ex hac*

Parma and Piacenza do homage to the Pope.

The cities in the Romagna made submission. Parma and Piacenza, hitherto part of the duchy of Milan, were suddenly incorporated with the State of the Church, on October 8. For the first time since the Donation of Pipin, the Pope took them into his keeping.[1] During the month of October their envoys came to do homage in Rome. The orator of Parma pronounced a servile discourse in Consistory, in which he recalled the fact that these cities had originally been called Julia, and that it was consequently proper that they should return to the second Julius. He asserted that he had heard that the ancestors of the Pope came from Parma, although of so incredibly great a man, it must be said, as in the case of Antipater, that "heaven was his fatherland."[2] Was it any wonder if the popes sought their glory in temporal dominion, or if, wrapped in the incense of servile adulation, they thought themselves the equals of the deified Caesars?

The sudden reconstruction of Italy concealed

preclara—repub. ejiceretur ille qui et Gallis semper favit. Brief, Rome, September 18, 1512. Archives of Florence. *Atti pubbl.*— The Florentines sent him artillery and 200 men-at-arms as auxiliaries against Ferrara, for which he thanks them; Brief, Malliana, September 26. *Ibid.*

[1] This is remarked by Carpesano, *Comment. suor. tempor.*, v. 22.

[2] *Oratio Civitatis Parmae ad Jul. II. P. M. habita.* Appendix in Roscoe. *Leo X.*, ii. (ed. of 1805), no. 66. There also is given the *Silva Francisci Marii Grapoldi in deditione Parmae*, in which this second orator exclaims:

Julia Parma tua est merito, quae Julia Juli
Nomen habet, sed re nunc est nunc Julia Parma.

within it the germs of future wars and also the dissolution of the Holy League. No one was satisfied. First of all Venice found herself bitterly deluded, for the now all-powerful general of the league, the Spanish viceroy, disputed with her the possession of several cities on the mainland; the Emperor retained others, such as Verona and Vicenza, on the ground of the rights of Empire, while the Pope gladly left her in the lurch. She already wished to renounce the league; she again made approaches to France, and courageously refused the treaty of peace offered her by the Emperor. Maximilian again watched with dismay the aggrandisement of the State of the Church, to which Modena and Reggio, Parma and Piacenza had been annexed without any right whatever. Nevertheless in his avarice he sold Siena for 30,000 ducats to the Pope, on whose nephew of Urbino it was to be bestowed in fief. From Julius the same nephew also received Pesaro, from which the house of Sforza had disappeared. Maximilian determined to retain Milan for his grandson Charles, but the opposition of the Pope and the Swiss prevented him. The confederates had again become a power in Italy; the Pope had loaded them with honours, and, in imitation of ancient Rome, had pronounced them "allies and defenders of the liberty of the Church." Their delegates came to do homage to him in the name of the twelve cantons and to promise further services. He received them as he would have received the envoys of a great power, and these sturdy mountaineers seemed submissively

to don the golden chains of Rome at the very time when Zwingli was living to break them.

Mathias Lang enters Rome.

Mathias Lang, Bishop of Gurk, and the Emperor's most influential statesman, came as his ambassador. On November 4 he made his magnificent entry from S. Maria del Popolo, and since it was of supreme importance to the Pope to obtain the Emperor's recognition of the Lateran Council; Gurk was received with the honours due to a prince.[1] The Mantuan Congress was now continued in Rome. The Emperor consented to invest Sforza with Milan, but demanded Verona and Vicenza from Venice. When the republic refused, in spite of the urgent exhortations of the Pope, Julius and Maximilian formed a league against the same Venice, with which the Pope had so lately been in alliance. The Emperor, however, promised him neither to support Alfonso nor the Bentivogli, and to leave Parma and Piacenza temporarily to the Church. This alliance was proclaimed in S. Maria del Popolo on November 25, 1512. On December 3 the ambassador announced Maximilian's accession to the Lateran Council—the greatest triumph of the Pope. Lang departed to conduct Sforza to his duchy, while Alberto of Carpi remained behind as the Emperor's envoy at the Council.

Massimiliano Sforza is instated in Milan.

On December 15, 1512, the son of Ludovico il Moro made his entry into Milan, the citadel of

[1] Pierius Valerianus, Letter in Freher, ii. 573, and also Paris de Grassis. The envoy of the Emperor was Alberto Pio of Carpi. Gurk dwelt in the Palazzo Orsini on Monte Giordano. The poets of Rome celebrated his entry.

which was still occupied by the French. He was escorted by Cardona, Gurk and the Swiss Cardinal Schinner as the representatives of the powers which had achieved this restoration. Massimiliano Sforza, however, received the dukedom of his ancestors much reduced in size; some of its territories had been appropriated by the Swiss, others by the Venetians; Parma and Piacenza were occupied by the Pope. The troops of all these powers remained like a swarm of greedy leeches in the unfortunate country.

Prosperity and greatness of Julius II.

At the end of the year 1512 Julius could look on his achievements with satisfaction. He had assembled the Council, had driven the French from Italy, had won the Emperor to his side, had deprived the French opposition of all support. True, the schismatics in Lyons had deposed him on account of his "crimes," but this was a source of less danger to him than excommunication would have been to the King of France. He carried on negotiations with the King and demanded the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction which France upheld. He had restored and extended the State of the Church: magnificent territories, the heart of Italy, formed the monarchy of S. Peter. For the time being he had made the Papacy the centre of gravity of Italy, nay, even of the political world. An audacious priest-king might even contemplate the possibility of reviving the ancient Guelf ideas and of uniting the whole peninsula under the papal sceptre.

It has been said that the aims of Julius II., in

opposition to those of Alexander VI., were inspired by a more lofty idea, by the Church, which alone he wished to aggrandise. But this is only correct if we calmly accept the falsified conception introduced by ambitious popes, by which the Roman bishopric was called the "Church." With more justice does the idea of Italian national independence redound to his honour. Patriotism is indeed but a doubtful virtue in a pope, and we may moreover question whether the policy pursued by Julius II. at the league of Cambray was a patriotic one. He undoubtedly desired to become the liberator of Italy, but he did not achieve this great aim. If he frequently exclaimed, "Out with the barbarians!" the cry only expressed the despair of his soul, for at the end of his life he must have admitted that all his great efforts had proved vain. He had expelled the French, but had summoned the Spaniards and the Swiss; the Emperor had recovered a firm footing in North Italy, and the South belonged to the Spanish kings, to whom Julius had given the investiture of Naples. Cardinal Grimani one day ironically told the Pope that a great task still remained to him, namely to drive away the Spaniards. Julius's wrath burst forth, he shook his stick violently and said, that with the help of heaven, Naples should also cast off the Spanish yoke. He was undoubtedly harassed by greater designs. He was already involved in new complications, which must entail fresh wars, and in these France, Venice and Ferrara would have been allied against him.

In the beginning of February 1513 Julius fell ill

of fever. On the 4th he sent for Paris de Grassis to arrange for his funeral. The great Pope, who had commissioned Michael Angelo to erect a gigantic mausoleum to his memory, expressed a fear that after his death his attendants might forget to dress his remains, as had been the case with so many popes.[1] During his last days he mentally reviewed the course of his pontificate and was appalled by the retrospect. Like many of his predecessors he lamented having been Pope.[2] He summoned the cardinals and entreated them to pray for the repose of his soul, for he had been a great sinner and had not governed the Church as he should have done.[3] In conformity with his bull against simony, he commanded that the election of his successor should be spotless, and that it must be removed from the influences of the Council. The schismatic cardinals were not to be admitted; he forgave them as Rovere but not as Julius II.[4] Weeping he gave them all his blessing. A charlatan appeared in Rome, who asserted that he possessed

[1] *Dicebat enim se recordari vidisse multos pontifices in obitu eorum a propriis adfinibus suis necessariis derelictos sic fuisse, ut indecentes nudi etiam detectis pudibundis jacuerint.*—Paris, iii. 470. He wished to be buried in new clothes, not in old ones like Sixtus IV. Rings of the value of 1000 ducats were placed on his finger. *Ne la morte sempre hebbe fanti apresso et mori constantissimamente*: Letter of Nicol. Lipomano, Rome, February 21 (M. Sanuto, xvi. fol. 4).

[2] See what Spondano ad. A. 1513, n. i., says concerning his repentance.

[3] Paris, iii. 483.

[4] He was so bitter against Carvajal and Sanseverino, that he would have burnt them in the Campo di Fiore had they fallen into his power. Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 68.

an infallible medicine of liquid gold. It was proposed that the Pope should try the potion.[1] His daughter Madonna Felice hurried from Bracciano; she wished to obtain from her father the cardinal's hat for her brother on her mother's side, but the dying man refused it.[2] Julius passed away on the night of February 20–21, 1513. Rome felt that a kingly spirit had departed. "Never during the forty years that I lived in the city," wrote Paris de Grassis, "has such a crowd of people been seen at the funeral of a pope." Every one wished to see the dead Julius and kiss his feet. In grief they invoked the salvation of his soul, since in the fullest sense of the words he had been a "Roman pontiff and Vicar of Christ, guardian of justice, aggrandiser of the Apostolic Church, the persecutor and subduer of tyrants and the deliverer of Italy from the barbarians." There were, however, other opinions concerning him, held by those who congratulated Italy that in this "terrible" Pope the flame was quenched that had kindled so many wars throughout the world.

Death of Julius II., Feb. 20, 1513.

Julius II. was one of the most profane and unclerical of figures on the Chair of Peter, and one of the most conspicuous princes of his time. To him as to the majority of popes of the Renascence we may apply the sentence of a most dispassionate contemporary. "It is assuredly very difficult to be at the same time a secular prince and a priest, for

[1] Card. Gonzaga to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, February 20, 1513. (Gonzaga Archives), *fu concluso per ultimo remedio di darne a bere a Nro signore.*

[2] Grossino to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, February 20, 1513. *Ibia.* The name of the mother of Madonna Felice is not recorded.

these are two things that have nothing in common. Whoever looks closely into the evangelical law will see that the popes, although calling themselves Vicars of Christ, have introduced a new religion which has nothing of Christ in it but the name. Christ commanded poverty, and they seek for wealth; He commanded humility, and they desire to rule the world."[1] Julius II. would have listened with a smile to these theoretic generalities, and would have pronounced the statesman who uttered them a fool. He trod in the footsteps of Alexander VI. and Sixtus IV., without however repeating the crimes of his predecessors, and he thus introduced the monarchical principle into the State of the Church. He was not the first pope who made wars, but history knows of none who waged them with such personal and worldly passion. According to the opinion of contemporaries and after generations these wars largely contributed to drive the peoples, who were turning away from Rome, into the arms of the Reformation. If the evil consequences of the reign of this pope, who added to the abuses of the Curia by his political necessities, are clear in relation to the true conception of the Church, nevertheless within the given conditions of his time, Julius II. will always remain an object of admiration as a historic figure of grandiose character. It was perhaps Italy's misfortune, that, instead of filling the throne of a secular prince, a man like Julius was seated on the Sacred Chair, to which a nature such as his seemed to have been called

[1] Francesco Vettori, *Sommario*, etc., p. 304.

solely by mistake. For as a secular monarch he might have been the saviour of his country. As it was, he gathered up vigorously, although altogether superficially, the Papacy which Alexander VI. had squandered on the Borgia; he made the State of the Church, whose second founder he became, its basis. Through this re-creation of the papal monarchy on the eve of the Reformation, he was enabled to secure the continued existence of the papal power; for this secular Julian papacy was recognised by Europe and accepted as a great power in the political system of powers. Meanwhile the connection of spiritual with temporal, of the Church with European politics, remained the chronic evil of Italy, and gave rise to a new problem, the question namely of the relation of the Church to the State of the Church, of the powers of Europe, and finally the Italian nation to this Catholic Roman Ecclesiastical State. To uphold this bold work of Julius II. the Popes were invariably obliged to seek refuge in diplomatic arts and the vacillating system of alliances, and constantly to rush into new wars; the Church thus suffered moral shipwreck. The political necessities of the Papacy greatly furthered the German reformation; at the same time they checked the formation of the Italian State; they prolonged the dominion of the foreigner in Italy, and they finally produced that terrible quarrel with the Italian people, which in our days has ended in the union of Italy through the violent destruction of the creation of Julius II.[1]

Julius II. founds anew the State of the Church.

[1] All who regard the State of the Church as a matter of religion

As a man the pope is among the most original figures of the Renascence, which was so rich in men of energy;[1] a genuine Italian character of plastic, even of monumental individuality. So Raffaelle painted him. He stands almost unique, since all his energies were concentrated into the few years of his old age. If the most attractive period in the life of Pius II. lay in his career before his pontificate, the contrary is the case with Julius II. In the years prior to his election he seems to wander on dark and false paths; he attains his true self as pope. Everything that he touches is powerful for good or evil. And not only the political world did this old man excite with youthful fire, and the ideas and creations of his fertile mind. A man who wished to build S. Peter's and courageously founded it, by this one deed possesses a right to live in the memory of mankind. In the history of the city Julius II. shines generally by the impetus which he gave to great works of culture, and these we shall survey, in order that we may worthily appreciate the lasting value of his era.

must exalt Julius to the skies: *i quali, essendo perduti i veri vocaboli delle cose, e confusa la distinzion del pesarle rettamente, giudicano, che sia piu ufizio de' Pontefice l'aggiugnere coll' armi e col sangue de' Christiani imperio alla Sede Apostolica*, as Guicciardini says on this occasion; and Muratori confirms his view. He characterises him as *animo feroce e genio guerriero*, and Ciacconius calls him *domi bellique clarissimus*, as we call secular princes.

[1] The expression applied by the Italians to such characters is *terribile*. *Egli è terribile*, Julius II. once said of Michael Angelo. It is the enhancing of *magnanimo* by individual personality.

CHAPTER II.

1. ROME UNDER JULIUS II.—HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS MONUMENTAL ART—BUILDING OF STREETS—*VIA GIULIA*—REBUILDING OF S. CELSO—THE BANKS—LUNGARA—AGOSTINO CHIGI—HIS COUNTRY HOUSE (FARNESINA)—BALDASSARE PERUZZI—BRAMANTE—HIS BUILDINGS — GIULIANO DI SANGALLO — THE COURT OF THE BELVEDERE — THE COURT OF DAMASUS — REBUILDING OF S. PETER'S — LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE, APRIL 18, 1506—HISTORY OF THE CONSTRUCTION.

The City of Rome in the fifteenth century.

WITH the fifteenth century a new period of magnificence dawned for the city. She became once more that which she had ceased to be since the ruin of the Roman empire;—the classic city of the world. On the eve of its fall the Papacy enthroned itself in splendour and majesty; the centre of gravity of all the political relations of Italy and Europe lay in Rome. The secularisation and wealth of the Church created or heightened a feverish activity in all arts and learning. As in the times of Augustus and Trajan artists, poets, musicians, rhetoricians and scholars gravitated thither. The finer spirits of an epoch of culture

flourish as a rule in unison—a law which Sallust has already noticed. And with the beginning of the sixteenth century, the overflowing intellectual life of the Italian nation reveals itself like a Bacchic triumphal procession, then droops and fades.

For only two decades was the city of Rome the classic theatre of this splendid culture, the centre which in the main gave form and colour to the European mind. It filled the place which under Lewis XIV. Paris afterwards assumed. In Rome however there was no combination of creative forces to exercise an influence on Italy, such as Paris exercised on France. Even in the sixteenth century creative intellects lived and flourished in every Italian city. Milan, Florence and Venice, Bologna, Parma and Ferrara, even smaller cities surprise us by their independence and wealth, more especially in the province of the creative arts. It is a national phenomenon. Rome however attracted the choicest spirits of Italy into her service; in Rome they found the widest field for their energies and the highest tasks for their genius.

In the atmosphere of world-history that wrapped the city around, in its monumental and ideal sublimity, the artistic mind was enabled to discard its provincial limitations and acquire an impress of greatness that was essentially Roman. Even things ecclesiastical assumed greater proportions owing to the cosmopolitan idea of the Papacy, and the specifically Christian element was less narrowing in an age when ancient culture was absorbed in Christianity. The Papacy, which for some time

before had been the pioneer of culture, was anti-ecclesiastical and worldly. The sumptuous vestments in which it arrayed itself concealed from no one the deep-seated malady of the Church. Nevertheless we must now acknowledge that, in view of the needs of culture, the sole merit of the popes of that age is precisely their cult of pagan antiquity. After the age of the Renascence the popes were no longer able to achieve anything great, anything of importance in universal history. Mankind however would have been deprived of many creations of art had the ascetic Platonism of Savonarola or the iconoclastic ethics of the first reformers prevented those popes indulging their tastes. After so many saints, their predecessors, had darkened and scourged the world with dogmas and penetential discipline, they had the courage or the taste to invite Christianity to assist at Olympic festivals.

It is perhaps one of the strongest proofs of the imperfection of human nature, that in almost every great epoch of culture the Beautiful reaches its greatest perfection side by side with the decay of morals and political life. Our statement finds confirmation in the history of the Greeks and Romans, and in modern times in that of the Italians and French. The theory does not hold good to an equal degree in the case of the Germans. Creative artistic energy probably requires a sensuous atmosphere, electrified by passion; this atmosphere, which is created by the currents of the time, remains sunny and clear in the higher realms of genius; while in the lower it shows itself merely as a precipitate of

vulgar vice, and is fatal as a moral pestilence. Among the artists of the most corrupt age in Italy, there were such ideally beautiful natures as Raffaelle and the stoic Michael Angelo; and beside the prostitution of talent exemplified in Pietro Aretino, Vida the writer of hymns and the serious-minded Flaminio; among princes the noble Guidobaldo of Urbino and his wife Elisabetta Gonzaga. Nor did the Saturnalia of Rome last for ever. The nobler efforts of this magnificent luxury of the Renascence outlived the storms of the time, and as monuments of the licentious and worldly Papacy stand the Cathedral of S. Peter and the Vatican with its masterpieces of pagan as of Christian art.

Spirit of the Renascence in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Under Julius II. the Renascence became an artistic classicism. Art had become the impress of the age as of the national spirit of Italy. It was now just as in antiquity the expression of a civilisation; —the monumental expression of that perfection of general culture to which mankind had attained. It surprises us now as a phenomenon, for it has passed away, and according to the laws of the intellectual Cosmos, the Renascence of the Beautiful will probably only reappear after an interval of centuries The art of our times is but the afterglow of that of the fifteenth century. As among the Greeks of the age of Perikles, art among the Italians at the beginning of the sixteenth century was an ethical consciousness, beauty a national sense; it was cultivated nature. Society, religion, life, invention, learning, poetry, were all governed by artistic form.

Julius II. did not love art as an enthusiast of the

Beautiful, but as a great character who possessed a decided taste for plastic form. With genuine Roman ambition he wished to give monumental expression to his reign, we may say to the spirit of his papacy, in sublime artistic creations. The fulness of the time supplied him with men of genius of the first rank. It was only necessary to see and summon them and they came, and rendered him and themselves immortal. Augustus would have deemed himself fortunate had Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raffaelle worked for him at one and the same time. These great masters were for Julius II. the instruments by which he attained his desire of immortality, which indeed they have procured him. Apart from them in time he would have vanished amid the ordinary horde of commonplace popes and princes, without leaving a trace in history. For it is these creative intellects alone who have given his character and name human interest, and still link them to humanity.

He had imbibed from the time of his uncle Sixtus the Rovere passion for building, and we have seen how he had already gratified his taste while still a cardinal. The disturbances of his reign and the expensive character of his political enterprises prevented him accomplishing the transformation of Rome to the degree that he had intended. He continued Sixtus IV.'s work of widening the streets. The Via Giulia, that of S. Celso, the Judaeorum, the Via delle Botteghe Oscure and the Lungara were restored by him. His architect Bramante provided him with the plans, while Domenico

Building of streets in Rome.

Massimi, Geronimo Pichi and others were his aediles.

The Via Giulia still bears the name of the Pope.[1] It was intended to lead from the Ponte Sisto to the Vatican, and in fact to pass over the ancient triumphal bridge by S. Spirito, which Julius meant to restore.[2] The new street was to be adorned with the most magnificent buildings and even by an immense palace for the Roman tribunals. This Palatium Julianum, which was never finished, was afterwards pulled down to the remains of the blocks of travertine, which we may still see near S. Biagio della Pagnotta.[3] In the same palace Bramante wished to erect a circular Corinthian building, but this, too, was never finished. It served for a long time for the representation of comedies, until in 1575 it was demolished by the Brescians to build their Church SS. Faustino e Giovita. The Via Giulia acquired an animated aspect as early as the time of Leo X., and in the sixteenth century became the favourite quarter of Rome. Palaces with richly ornamented façades dating from the time of the Medici still remain here. Via Giulia.

The whole of this district, especially that of the Banks, was filled with stately buildings as early as

[1] Previously, and even as late as 1516, it was called the *Via Magistralis*, from the notaries who lived there: Fiorovanti Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, Ven. 1660, Giornata, ii. 31.

[2] *Quem quidem tua beatitudo vult restituere, et jam a Pop. Rom. pons Julii vocatur*: Albertini, *De Mirabil. urbis Romae*, p. 11.

[3] *Ad divi Blasii aedem domus ingentis fundamenta jecit, quem juris dicundi locum esse decreverat*: the contemporary Egidius of Viterbo, *Hist. XX. Saeculor*, MS. in the Angelica.

the time of Sixtus IV.[1] In causing the ancient church of S. Celso to be pulled down, and a new church to be erected, Julius gave it a wider area. Bramante also soon after built the Papal Mint, where the silver pieces called Giuli were first struck in 1508.[2] The inscription of 1512, which extols the services of the Pope in the language of the ancient emperors, may still be read in the Via de' Banchi.[3] Agostino Chigi, his Minister of Finance, had a private bank in the same street opposite the Palazzo of the Alberici (Cicciaporci), which was afterwards built by Giulio Romano.[4] Further on, in the Palazzo Borgia, the Chancery of that time, dwelt Galeotto the Cardinal-nephew, who had enlarged and decorated the magnificent building of Alexander VI.

The Mint in the Banks.

The other great street which Rome owes to Julius II. is the Lungara. He caused it to be made in a straight line, and intended to continue it along the Tiber to the Ripa Grande.[5] People began to

[1] The expression "in the Banks" so frequently used by Gregorovius refers, of course, to this quarter of the city; "the Lombard Street of Rome in the XVI. century," as Signor Lanciani explains it. All the wealthy bankers had their offices here. The quarter still exists and still retains its name I BANCHI. [TRANSLATOR.]

[2] Carlo Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaelle Sanzio d'Urbino*, Rome, 1822, p. ii. Albertini, p. 95.

[3] *Julio II. P. O. M. Quod Finibus Ditionis S. R. E. Prolatis Italiaque Liberata Urbem Romam Occupate Similiorem Quam Divise Patefactis Dimensisque Viis Pro Majestate Imperii Ornavit Dominicus Maximus Hieronymus Picus Aediles F. C. MDXII.*

[4] According to Fea, *Notizie*, p. 5, the house of Chigi afterwards passed into the hands of the Niccolini.

[5] *Quam quidem viam destinaverat a Platea S. Petri usque ad*

build houses, but, nevertheless, the Lungara showed no signs of animation. The Riarii and Cardinal Farnese had country houses and gardens at the end of the street, and there Agostino Chigi built a villa, which, under its later name of the Farnesina, has acquired a world-wide renown. Via della Lungara.

The Siennese family of the Chigi had come to Rome in the time of Sixtus IV. with Mariano, who grew rich in exchange transactions. He acted as banker to the Borgia. His son Lorenzo was killed in the accident in the Vatican, when the life of Alexander VI. was endangered by the fall of a roof. The other sons Agostino, Gismondo, and Francesco, had received their training in the banking house of the Spanocchi, to which Agostino himself succeeded in 1509. His business prospered owing to his extensive enterprises and his relations with the Curia. He had already been banker to Alexander VI., and afterwards became financial adviser to, and the confidant of, Julius II. Julius gave him a lease of the alum mines at Tolfa, and that of the salt-marshes at Cervia, which proved so fruitful a cause of war to the Popes.[1] In September 1509 Julius received him into the Rovere family. Chigi's wealth increased to such a degree that his income was estimated at 70,000 ducats, an enormous sum at that period. He owned a hundred vessels on the Agostino Chigi.

navalia sub Aventino, qui locus vulgo Ripa dicitur, distructis hinc inde aedificiis promovere. Andrea Fulvio, *De Urbis Antiquit.*, i. 45.

[1] Julius II. also allowed Agostino to acquire the harbour of Hercules (Porto Ercole) from the republic of Siena. See *Deliberatio et Contractus Portus Herculis*, 1507, March 15, and other documents in G. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il magnifico*, Rome, 1878, p. 121 f.

seas, and had houses of business in Lyons, London, Constantinople, Amsterdam, and even in Babylon. He was held in honour in the east; the Sultan called him "the great Christian merchant." His credit was unbounded. He ruled the money market of his time. Even Venice awarded him citizenship. On his arrival there the Council did homage to him, gave him a magnificent reception, and made him take his place beside the Doge. Several princes obtained loans from his house. He lent Pope Julius 40,000 ducats without interest, receiving as security the tiara of Paul II. Owing to his wealth this highly-cultured man was the most magnificent patron of art in Rome.[1]

The architect of his villa, which was begun about 1509,[2] is believed to have been the gifted artist Baldassare Peruzzi, who, born in Siena in 1481, came to Rome shortly before the death of Alexander VI. Peruzzi was a compatriot of Chigi, and by him employed on his villa. Nevertheless, a recent art critic has striven to prove that the plan of this celebrated house was designed not by Peruzzi but by Raffaelle.[3] Chigi wished for a simple villa of noble proportions and graceful style, and the build-

[1] See G. Buonafede, *I Chigi Augusti*, Venetia, 1860. Agostino was born in Siena in 1465.

[2] Chigi's house, called *Corte de' Chigi*, stood in the Banks, on the spot where the triumphal arch of the Emperors Gratian, Theodosius and Valentinian had formerly stood. Cugnoni, *Ag. Chigi*, pp. 31, 83. The first contracts with artists concerning the building of the country house given by Cugnoni (p. 87) begin with May 1510.

[3] Heinrich von Geymüller (*Raffaello Sanzio studiato come Architetto*, Milan, 1884) has plucked the bright laurel from Peruzzi's crown and awarded it to Raffaelle.

ing became the model of an unpretending country seat of refined taste. It was a dwelling-house in the outskirts of Rome—a suburbanum—and, on account of the limited space on the banks of the Tiber, the gardens, which were considered so beautiful, could not have been of great extent. Peruzzi covered the exterior of the building with paintings in chiaroscuro, of which no trace remains. He painted the story of Perseus and the Medusa in the Gallery of Galatea, while Sodoma decorated the upper story with the beautiful frescoes of Alexander's marriage with Roxana.[1] In his villa Chigi wished to have no reminiscence of the Christian religion, but only subjects belonging to the joyous realm of ancient poetry. He engaged Raffaelle's services, and the Galatea and the celebrated frescoes, depicting the myth of Cupid and Psyche, were thus called into existence. With Raffaelle also worked his pupils, Giulio Romano and Francesco Pecci; further, Giovanni da Udine and Sebastiano del Piombo. Chigi's house became one of the most beautiful monuments of the time, and marked an epoch in the history of art. The fortunate merchant found himself in possession of a pearl without equal, which may well have excited the envy of contemporary princes. Poets described the wonders of his villa.[2] True, that the artists of Greece or imperial

Agostino Chigi's villa.

[1] Vasari, viii. 222. Of Peruzzi's paintings the Medusa and Perseus in the Hall of Galatea (originally an open loggia) are alone preserved. The loggia of entrance was also afterwards built up.

[2] *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii per Blosium Palladium Impress. Romae per Jacob. Mazochium Rom. Acad. Bibliopol. A. Sal. MDXII.*

Rome would have smiled at the enthusiasm it excited, but so needy had mankind become that it appeared a marvellous creation; and so miserably provided with beauty is our public and private life even now, that the villa still enjoys an almost undiminished fame. Chigi also filled it with works of art, statues, pictures, valuable medals and gems, and there lived a life of splendour until his death, which took place within it on April 10, 1520. His family experienced the common lot of the uncertainty of fortune; and after being crippled with debts under Paul III., they returned to Siena, and became extinct in 1580.[1] The villa was sold by auction, and bought with all the statues it contained by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; in the course of time it fell to the Dukes of Parma, and was called Farnesina.[2]

Only half a century divided the Farnesina from the palace of Paul II., with which the new archi-

die XVII. Jan., 4°; and Gallus Aegidius Romanus, *De Viridario Aug. Chisii Senensis Libellus*, Romae, 1511. The Farnesina was consequently opened in this year. See concerning it Fea, *Notizie*, etc., Vasari's *Vita di Raffaello*, and *di Bald. Peruzzi*. Reumont gives some accounts of it, *Die Farnesina und Agostino Chigi*, in Zahn's *Jahrb. für Kunstwiss.*, i. R. Förster, *Farnesina Studien, ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Verhältniss der Renaissance zur Antike*, Rostock, 1880.

[1] Agostino's brother Gismondo was married to Sulpizia Petrucci, daughter of Pandolfo, and was the ancestor of Pope Alexander VII.

[2] When the Farnese died out in 1731, it fell to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, through whom it passed to the Bourbons of Naples. In 1861 the ex-king Francis I. let it on a ninety-nine years' lease to the Spaniard Bermudes de Castro, who since then has had it restored. The garden of the villa, however, fell (about 1879) a sacrifice to the embankment of the Tiber.

tecture in Rome had begun, and yet the architectural distance between the two buildings seems to place them more than a century apart. The buds of modern art, which began to unfold in the time of Mino and Pontelli, had developed more richly. Grace and joyous sensuousness were the requirements of the new generation. The Popes also rendered homage to this taste, and were able to bestow great proportions on their monumental undertakings. Julius II. in particular completed a part of the legacy bequeathed by Nicholas V. in the reconstruction of the Vatican, and carried it out in his own courageous manner. In Rome he found the most gifted architect of the time. Bramante, who was born at Castel Durante in the Duchy of Urbino in 1444, had begun his career in the Romagna and continued it in Milan, where he executed several ecclesiastical buildings for Ludovico Sforza. The fall of Sforza seems to have driven him to Rome about 1499. He here studied the antiquities, of which he made several plans, not only in the city, but also at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, where the first excavations were now made. By the application of the laws of antiquity he founded a new era of architecture in Rome. His buildings are characterised by nobility of proportion, severe beauty, classic grace and a purity of form that verges on bareness. Alexander VI., whose architect was Antonio di Sangallo, scarcely employed Bramante.[1]

Bramante in Rome.

[1] According to Milizia, *Vite de' più celebri Architetti*, Rome, 1768, p. 180, he erected for Alexander the fountains in front of S. Maria in Trastevere.

His buildings in Rome.

But Cardinals Carraffa, Castellesi and Riario commissioned him to build their palaces and churches. The building of the Cancellaria, the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, of the Palazzo Castellesi were prolonged until the reign of Julius II., and the cloister of S. Maria Della Pace, which Carraffa had entrusted to Bramante, was only completed in 1504.[1] Under his guidance a German architect is said to have finished S. Maria dell' Anima, the foundation stone of which had been laid on April 11, 1500, by the imperial envoy Mathias Lang. Although ascribed to Giuliano di Sangallo, its finely proportioned but bare façade has all the characteristics of Bramante's style.[2] In the early part of the sixteenth century Bramante built the round temple in the courtyard of the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, an elegant trifle in imitation of the antique, and having the appearance of a model. The architect had already entered the service of Julius II.

It is strange that the celebrated Florentine Giuliano di Sangallo, who had formerly built the palace beside S. Pietro in Vincoli, the fortress at Ostia and the palace at Savona for Julius II., was not permanently kept in Rome by this Pope. On

[1] This is said in the inscription in the courtyard : *Oliverius Carrapha Ep. Host. Card. Neap. Pie A Fundamentis Erexit A. Sal. Chr. MDIII.*

[2] Anton Kerschbaumer, *Gesch. des deutsch. Nationalhospizes Anima in Rom*, Vienna, 1868. The Church was consecrated on November 23, 1511, but the building went on until 1519. The expenses were defrayed by contributions raised in German territories, and on the interior vaulting we may still see the coats of arms of the electors. The electoral house of Brandenburg owned a chapel in the building painted by Salviati.

his election Giuliano at once hastened to him and probably received employment, but soon afterwards he became architect to the Florentines, and, if Vasari's statements be correct, even quarrelled with the Pope on account of the rebuilding of S. Peter's, which he himself had suggested, but the execution of which had been given to Bramante.[1] Giuliano went to Florence, and only returned to Rome in 1512, where he did not acquire any prominent position. Neither did his brother Antonio, his fellow-worker in the palace at Savona and architect to Alexander VI., rise to eminence in Rome during the reign of Julius II. He designed here the domed church of S. Maria di Loreto on the Forum of Trajan, which was begun in 1507. But not until later did the distinguished architect rear himself an imperishable monument in the Palazzo Farnese. Giuliano di Sangallo.

All the designs conceived by Julius II., the construction of streets and quarters, the rebuilding of the Vatican and the erection of the new cathedral, were entrusted to Bramante. He even employed the Umbrian architect as engineer of the fortifications at Bologna and the siege works of Mirandola. The same master also designed plans for a great number of palaces not only in Rome, but also in the State of the Church.

Julius wished to connect the Belvedere with the Vatican in such wise that the intermediate space should be filled with a combination of halls, courts and palaces. With this aim Bramante drew a

[1] Vasari (Florence, Le Monnier), vii. 221. The statements here are very confused; see the notes to this edition.

Bramante's design for the buildings in the Vatican.

classic design; a magnificent court between the Belvedere and the Vatican; the upper part of which was to form a garden terrace, the lower a place for tournaments. This piazza was to be surrounded with a beautiful portico with three rows of pilasters one above the other, and to end in huge niches, an upper one of the Belvedere, a lower one with rows of seats for the spectators at the games.[1] Nicholas V. had already entertained the idea of a secular theatre in the Vatican, and would have had classic comedies represented there. Julius II. would probably instead have given the Romans combats with animals and tournaments. Even later popes had games of chivalry celebrated in the courtyard of the Belvedere, although not in the theatre, as Julius II. had intended.[2] Stirred to enthusiasm by Bramante's designs, Julius was impatient to see the rise of these magnificent buildings, and with characteristic haste urged them onwards. He even ordered the work to be continued during the night. But as in the case of Nicholas V., death stepped between him and his project. Only one portico connecting the Belvedere with the Vatican was finished, and this was so hurriedly executed, that as early as the time of Clement VII. the walls required a support. Under Sixtus V., who in building his library rendered impossible the execution of Bramante's design, the open loggia was walled up. This gallery

[1] L. Pungileoni, *Memorie intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Donato Bramante*, Rome, 1836, p. 31.

[2] A tournament was held there during the Carnival of 1565; a copper-plate engraving depicting it, by Heinrich van Schoels, is preserved in the Corsini collection.

now serves for the great collection of Christian and ancient inscriptions. Pius VII. finally added the Braccio Nuovo to the library.

The celebrated work of Bramante, "the Court of Damasus," the triple arcades of which are the most successful imitation of the antique, was also begun under Julius II. Bramante has therein given an unequalled example of vigour, lightness and grace. The loggia was finished by Raffaelle according to Bramante's design. Court of Damasus.

The grandest of all Julius II.'s conceptions was that of the new cathedral of S. Peter. He revived the idea of Nicholas V., which no pope hitherto had ventured to carry out. In spite of the violent opposition of the cardinals and of mankind in general, who wished to preserve the venerable basilica of the apostles, he ordered the cathedral to be rebuilt in the classic style. Bramante submitted the plan for his approval. A Greek Cross with ponderous tribunes at the end of the arms, a majestic cupola over the centre between two belfries, a simple and dignified porch resting on six columns.[1] The foundation stone was laid by the Pope on Saturday in Albis, April 18, 1506. Walking in procession from the high altar of the ancient church through the chapel of S. Petronilla, the old man fearlessly descended a ladder to an abyss-like opening that had been excavated beside the foundations.[2] He was accompanied by only two cardinal- Re-building of S. Peter.

[1] Caradossa's medals alone show us Bramante's design. Bonanni, *Templi Vaticani Hist.*, Rome, 1700, tav. i.

[2] Paris de Grassis, MS. Chigi.—The foundations swallowed up

deacons, the master of the ceremonies and a few other persons. A goldsmith, apparently Caradosso, brought an earthenware vase containing twelve medals, which had been recently struck, two being large gold pieces, the others of bronze, with inscriptions referring to the ceremony.[1] These were buried in the ground. The foundation stone of white marble, four palms long, two wide, and five fingers thick, was placed beside the foundation wall, and the consecration of the building ended the ceremony.[2]

Laying of the foundation stone, April 18, 1506.

Among the spectators of the scene there was no one who could have remained unaware of its significance. Every man of intelligence must have told himself that this new foundation stone was also the

such an amount of material that, as Costaguti observes, the subterranean building is even more massive than that above ground. The chapel of Petronilla was not destroyed until the reign of Paul III., when were found, in 1544, the tombs of Maria and Thermantia, the daughters of Stilicho and wives of the Emperor Honorius, with many ornaments. Cancellieri, *De Secretariis veteris Basil. Vaticanae*, p. 957. As early as 1519 other similar discoveries were made in the same place (Letter of Marcant. Michiel, *Mem. dell' Istit. Veneto*, ix. 3, p. 404).

[1] *Julius Ligur Secund. P. M. A. Sui Pont. III.* 1506. *Instauratio Basilicae Ap. Petri et Pauli Pr. Jul. II. P. M.* On the other side *Vaticanus*, says Paris. See Bonanni, tav. i.

[2] The stone bore the inscription: *Aedem Principis Apostolor. In Vaticano Vetustate Ac Situ Squallentem A Fundamentis Restituit Julius Ligur P. M. A.* 1506. Paris de Grassis. The same day the Pope informed Henry VII. of England that the foundation stone had been laid: *Hoc die—primum lapidem nostris propriis manibus benedictum ac cruce signatum in eodem loco posuimus, firma spe ducti quod dominus et Salvator J. Christus cujus monitu basilicam ipsam vetustate consumptam augustiori forma et aedificio renovare aggressi sumus, meritis et precibus ipsius Apostoli vires nobis tribuet.*

keystone of a long period of the Roman Church. He must have turned a glance of reverent farewell to the ancient cathedral, in regard to which the life of Christian nations had been one continued pilgrimage, and within whose venerated halls hovered the associations of twelve centuries of history. The ancient cathedral was now to pass away, as the ancient empire of Constantine and the ancient basilica of Sylvester had passed. The new era erected a new cathedral for an altered race, and must not Julius II. have asked himself what would be its import in the coming centuries? Had the sibyl of Augustus appeared to him on this solemn occasion to reveal the fate of the Roman Church in the near future, he would have turned away in horror. But in 1506 the power of the Sacred Chair seemed to the Pope to rest on pillars more solid than those over which Bramante's cupola was to soar, and no suspicion lay further from his mind than the thought, that behind the veil of time already stood the forces of an incalculable revolution that would rend in twain the cathedral of the Roman Church.

Everyone knows that the taxes for the building of S. Peter's, which Julius already demanded from Christendom, and which his successor allowed to degenerate into usurious traffic, were the first actual causes of the German reformation. The historian of the Council of Trent was thereupon justified in his remarkable confession: "The material structure of S. Peter's was thus responsible for the fall of a great part of his spiritual building; since in order

to collect all the millions consumed by the colossal work, the successor of Julius II. was obliged to resort to means that gave rise to Luther's heresy, and this has made the Church the poorer by many more million souls."[1] In fact the German reformation, which turned away half of Catholic mankind from S. Peter's in Rome, already stood close to the foundations of the new Church, and it is merely a vain compensation for the other half to see, in the finished cathedral, the spirit of heresy represented in the form of a hideous demon, on whose neck is placed the foot of the founder of the Jesuit order. New S. Peter's was no longer that which it ought to have been, and what old S. Peter's had been, the temple of the universal Church, but only the centre of those races—for the most part Latin—who remained faithful to the Papacy. Almost from the first hour the history of its construction is accompanied by the apostasy of the Evangelical provincial churches (chiefly German), from the Roman Papacy, and by the firm establishment of a modern culture on foundations as immovable as the fundamental laws of intellectual liberty can be. The plan of the gigantic Cathedral of the Catholic Church was conceived even before the Reformation, but the Lutheran heresy probably contributed in no slight degree to inflame the zeal of Popes Julius and Leo. It is justly called the fortress of Catholicism. Who can think of S. Peter's in Rome apart from the Papacy?

The work of building was protracted throughout

[1] Pallavicini, *Storia del Concil. di Trento*, i. c. 1.

the reigns of twenty popes, until on November 18, 1626, Urban VIII. was able to consecrate the finished structure, on the date when, according to legend, Bishop Sylvester had blessed the ancient Church of S. Peter. The history of its building consequently embraces that of the fine arts from the time of their classic perfection to their decadence, their ruin and their second renascence; from Bramante, Raffaelle and Michael Angelo down to Maderno, Bernini and Fontana, nay, even down to Canova and Thorwaldsen, who erected within it the monuments of the latest renascence. Consecration, Nov. 18, 1626.

Bramante worked for eight years in S. Peter's, during which time the ancient Church was partially demolished. In their eager haste Pope and architect showed so little reverence for the past that they allowed most of the monuments, mosaics and the antique columns of the ancient building to be destroyed. Michael Angelo indignantly remonstrated against the Vandalism shown by Bramante. Even beautiful tombs of the time of Mino, even the monument to the very Father of Renascence culture —Nicholas V.—were broken in pieces.[1] We may

[1] Vasari, vii. 137. The last remains of the ancient basilica were only removed under Paul V. Bramante allowed the High Altar and the Tribune to remain. Even if the reproaches pronounced against him are only founded on a *si dice*, and even though Condivi (pp. 27–28) attributes to Michael Angelo no further reproach than that of blaming Bramante for having allowed some beautiful columns to be destroyed, nevertheless the destruction is beyond a doubt. No reverence has ever been felt in Rome for the monuments of the Middle Ages, and for years I have witnessed the Vandalism with which the monuments within the basilicas have been destroyed in the restoration of the churches themselves.



now see the remains of these monuments, in the crypt of the Vatican, the subterranean museum of the ruined antiquity of S. Peter's and also of the Papacy. These vaults contain an invaluable, if mutilated series of historic memorials, which, beginning with the tomb of Junius Bassus, ends with the coffin of Alexander VI. They are the catacombs of the papal history, where the traveller gazes on the stone face of a bygone time, and the taper's light falls on the mosaics of the eighth century, on sculptured forms resembling idols, on fragments of inscriptions, such as that of the Donation of Matilda, on the imperial grave of Otto II., on pagan sarcophagi, in which repose spiritual despots, on stone coffins, and above them on the dismal outstretched forms of popes, who during life ruled men like gods, and who with the age to which they belonged lie buried deep below the Cathedral of S. Peter.

Bramante built the four colossal piers of the cupola, but soon after his time it was found necessary to strengthen the foundations. He also began the tribune of the nave and that of the south transept. This was all that either he or Julius II. beheld of the structure. For the great architect died on March 11, 1514, and appropriately found a grave in the crypt of the cathedral which he had founded.[1] According to his dying wish, Raffaelle

[1] The mediocre epitaph (note to Vasari, vii. 139) says:

Magnus Alexander, magnam ut conderet urbem
Niliacis oris Dinocraten habuit.
Sed si Bramantem tellus antiqua tulisset
Hic Macedum Regi gratior esset eo.

succeeded him in the direction of the work, at first in conjunction with his friend Giuliano di Sangallo, and the aged Fra Giocondo of Verona, after 1518 alone. The substitution of a Latin cross designed by Raffaelle, for the Greek cross originally intended, was a blunder. Bramante's idea, however, triumphed after repeated vacillations. After Raffaelle's death Peruzzi adopted a new design, which was considered the most beautiful of all made for S. Peter's, and reverted to the Greek form. After him Antonio di Sangallo again adopted the long nave; and once more Michael Angelo designed another Greek transept; but although, by the express orders of the Pope, the building was continued down to the beginning of the seventeenth century on the lines of the original plan, Paul V. acquiesced in the alterations proposed by his architect Maderno, by which S. Peter's finally received the form of a Latin Cross.[1] The fatal result of this decision is that

Plans for building S. Peter's after Bramante's time.

[1] H. von Geymüller, *Die urspr. Entwürfe für S. Peter in Rom*, Paris, 1875–1880. The series of architects of S. Peter's is as follows: Bramante, Giuliano di S. Gallo, Fra Giocondo, Antonio di S. Gallo, Raffaelle under Leo X.; Baldassare Peruzzi until Clement VII.; he erected the tribune. Ant. di S. Gallo under Paul III.; Giulio Romano under the same Pope. Michael Angelo under Paul III. and Julius III. He finished the drum of the cupola before his death (1563). Vignola and Pirro Ligorio under Pius V., Giacomo della Porta under Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. down to Clement VIII. In 1590, with Domen. Fontana, he completed the dome. After his death (1604), Carlo Maderno and Giov. Fontana under Paul V. Maderno finished the façade and the portico in 1614. After his death (1629), Bernini, who began the colonnades under Alexander VII. in 1667. Under Pius VI. Carlo Marchioni built the new sacristy in 1780. At the end of Saec. XVII. the entire building had cost 46,800,498 scudi. The repairs



the dome, the audacious work of Michael Angelo, has never received full justice.

The traveller who stands for the first time in front of S. Peter's must admit that a Gothic cathedral is the ideal of a church, and perhaps that Christianity itself is there expressed in a clearer and more historic aspect than in this world-famous building. In the interior the masses of the piers, the arches and barrel-vaulting suggest immensity but not infinity. We breathe no air of sanctity, and that spell of mystery, with which the ancient and simple basilicas of Rome and Ravenna are filled, is entirely absent. In S. Peter's the language of religion is translated into the modern, secular and profane style of a period of soulless splendour. The wealth of magnificent mosaics is here spread with astounding lavishness over walls and vaults, but these mosaics —chiefly copies from paintings belonging to the period of the material redundance of art—produce a merely decorative effect and exercise no religious influence such as their legitimate predecessors in ancient basilicas. And yet this gorgeous theatre of the modern cult of the Catholic religion

annually cost 30,000 scudi. The history of the building is dealt with in detail by Bonanni, *Templi Vaticani Historia*, Rome, 1700. M. Mignanti, *Istor. della sacr. patr. basilica Vaticana*, Rome, 1867. The main outlines are also given in the work of the two Costaguti, *Architettura della Bas. di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Rome, 1620, 1684, and in Carlo Fontana, *Il Tempio Vaticano e suo origine*, Roma, 1694. An accurate description is given by Pietro Chattard, *Nuova descriz. della Bas. di S. Pietro e del Palazzo Vat.*, 3 vol., Rome, 1767.—Barbier de Montault, *Les souterrains et le trésor de S. Pierre*, Rome, 1866.

was conceived and built in the proportions of a universal church; and thus it stands unique in the world.

If in their cathedrals and basilicas bygone generations had given expression to their ardent longing for divine salvation, S. Peter's on the other hand shows a triumphant consciousness of the actual possession of a great culture, in the acquisition of which the Christian church had borne so great a part. In fact this colossal structure sprang up out of the Renascence, in the medium of the secular culture, to which paganism and Christianity had combined to give a new and universal form. It is the memorial of that neo-Latin culture, a monumental metamorphosis of the secularised spirit of the Church, the last great act of the Papacy. If Rome perished and a silent waste stretched round S. Peter's, this gigantic cathedral would afford to posterity a more convincing witness to the all-ruling power of the Papacy and of the cosmopolitan idea of the Church than the Pyramids of Egypt of the power of Rhampsinitus and Cheops.

In S. Peter's is embodied the universality, which in the history of culture corresponds to the Cosmos of the Church. It is the crystallisation of the collective modern culture of the Italian renascence. The Byzantine, Roman and Gothic churches are all stamped with the individual impress of a more or less limited religious past. Although S. Peter's also necessarily bears the features of the culture of its time, nevertheless this is so universal that no one specifically historic or national element predominates over the others.

If the spectator deplores the absence of aesthetic or religious effect, he will at any rate find himself encompassed by an architectural world of incomparable extent, complete in its smallest details, a world of embodied ideas and events, the creation of which presupposes the course of centuries. When finally he gazes upwards to the radiant heaven of the dome, he will probably admit that S. Peter's is the temple of all temples, where even in the remotest future, when the dogmatic face of religion shall have become spiritualised in a higher culture, the human race, united in this new spiritual life, will there be able to give solemn expression to its noblest feelings.

2. FIRST COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES IN THE BELVEDERE — THE APOLLO — THE GROUP OF THE LAOCOON — THE TORSO — THE CLEOPATRA OR ARIADNE—OTHER ANTIQUITIES AND COLLECTIONS IN PALACES — MODERN SCULPTURE — ANDREA SANSOVINO—MICHAEL ANGELO—HIS DAVID—HIS DESIGN FOR THE TOMB OF JULIUS II.

At the same time that architecture in Rome reassumed the classic forms of antiquity, sculpture received its models in the numerous ancient statues that were excavated. These exercised a powerful influence on the development of art. They revealed the laws of good style as also of its technical treatment; they elevated taste and created or increased the need of the Beautiful. The reign of Julius II. is conspicuous not only by the simultaneous appear-

ance of artistic geniuses such as Bramante, Michael Angelo and Raffaelle, but by the discovery at the same time of some masterpieces of ancient sculpture. These have become personal characters and powers in the world of art, and as such have exercised within it the immeasurable influence which only immortal genius can exercise. Even now they retain their princely rank as the most popular favourites of sculpture. Julius II. was the first to give them hospitality in the Vatican, and consequently became the founder of the Vatican Museum, that great Pantheon of ancient sculptures in which the work and the continuity of the civilisation of centuries, the infancy, the maturity and the decay of human genius, and the inmost thoughts of the ancient religions and associations of peoples have found their monumental expression.

The Apollo of the Belvedere.

Julius brought the Apollo with him from his palace beside SS. Apostoli, and the god of the Muses became the pioneer of the collection now begun. Julius had him placed on a marble pedestal on the left of the entrance to the garden of the Belvedere, and he was here seen by a Venetian ambassador in 1523.[1] The magnificent work of art soon obtained world-wide celebrity. Francis I. had a cast made from it, and Marcantonio spread it abroad in engravings. The Apollo was the delight and the despair of artists, since before the Greek

[1] *Nel primo ingresso del suddetto giardino, a man manca s'è come una cappellata incastrata nel muro; dove sopra una base di marmo è l'Apollo famoso nel mondo. Sommario del viaggio degli oratori Veneti* in Albéri, *Relazioni*, etc., ii., iii., 114. The sculptor Gianangelo Montorsoli restored the Apollo in 1532.

masterpieces of the Parthenon were discovered or known, he was esteemed the perfect ideal of the god. Even after the middle of the eighteenth century, when this beautiful work awoke the enthusiasm of Winckelmann, the Apollo Belvedere gave rise to a literature dealing with its place in art, which has not yet reached its end.[1]

The group of the Laocoon.

Soon after appeared the group of the Laocoon. It was discovered in January 1506, in the vineyard of the Roman Felix de Fredis, near the reservoir of the Sette Sale, in the Baths of Titus; a veritable treasure-house of antiquities. For again in 1547 from the same vineyard Cardinal Trivulzio brought to light not only magnificent columns but also twenty-five statues in good preservation.[2] Scarcely had the first strokes of the spade disclosed the work of art, when messengers hurried to the Vatican to inform the Pope that according to appearances an extraordinary find was about to be made. He ordered Giuliano di Sangallo to repair to the spot. Sangallo took with him Michael Angelo. As the two artists descended into the cavity, Sangallo joyfully exclaimed, "This is Laocoon, of whom Pliny speaks."[3] A happy accident

[1] In the *Berichte der Würzburger Philologen-versammlung* of 1868. H. Brunn has demonstrated with much probability that the statue is that of Apollo holding the aegis (Αἰγίοχος). [The most recent discussion of this question is by W. Amelung, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xxv. (1900), p. 286. TRANSL.]

[2] Fea, *Miscellanee*, i., at the end.

[3] Giuliano's son Francesco has given a vivid description of the scene. Letter in Fea, *ut supra*. See also what Cesare Trivulzio wrote to Pomponio Trivulzio. Rome, June 1, 1506: Bottari, *Raccolta di Lettere*, iii. 321.

decreed that the greatest sculptor since ancient times should witness the resurrection of a work of art for whose technical perfection he possessed the profoundest understanding. He must have reflected with wonder on the mysterious sequence of artistic ideas, and have compared the Laocoon with his own youthful creation, the group of the Pietà, in both of which works the sculptor's art had depicted sorrow, although under widely different moral aspects.[1] The three masters to whom Pliny attributed the group, the Rhodian Agesander, Polydorus and Athenodorus, celebrated the rare festival of a resurrection.[2] Their work, the greatest dramatic group in the sphere of plastic art which had till then been brought to light, awakened all the greater enthusiasm from the fact that its existence in ancient Rome had been made known by Pliny, and that Virgil had made the subject popular. The group thus appeared as the resurrection incarnate of the most priceless piece of the life of the ancient world. The Apollo and the Laocoon henceforward became the most admired and popular of artistic works. This was not simply because they were antiques of perfect beauty, but also because that of all the sculptures of antiquity, the spirit which breathes from them approaches most closely to modern feeling. The Laocoon was soon preferred to the Apollo. Poets sung it in

[1] Michael Angelo refused to restore the group; the right arm of the Laocoon was restored by Montorsoli; the arms of the sons by Cornachini.

[2] Lessing differs from Pliny in ascribing this work of art to the time not of Alexander the Great, but of Titus.

inspired verses.[1] After the long oblivion of more than a thousand years the influence of these ancient masterpieces was to make an epoch in two different modern periods. The philosophic survey of art as a province of the creative intellect, which, though single, falls into well-defined divisions, originates with the Laocoon. Julius bought the group for only 600 gold scudi.[2] But the finder was afterwards richly rewarded, since on his gravestone in Aracoeli the discovery of the Laocoon is recorded as a title to immortality.[3]

First description of the Laocoon.

Seventeen years after the Laocoon had been placed in the Belvedere, a Venetian ambassador, seeing it beside the Apollo, wrote a description, which, as the first of the kind, deserves quotation here. "Somewhat further on in a similar niche,

[1] In accordance with the feeling of the age, Sadoleto's verses met with the greatest applause, and even Lessing holds them "worthy of an ancient poet." This is a matter of taste. How tedious and flat is the opening!

Ecce alto terrae e cumulo, ingentisque ruinae
Visceribus iterum reducem longinqua reducit.
Laocoonta dies: aulis regalibus olim
Qui stetit, atque tuos ornabat, Tite, penates, etc.

[2] Bottari, *Lett. pittor.*, iii. 474. According to the brief of March 23, 1506, in return for it Fredi was assigned the taxes of the Porta S. Giovanni: Gaetano Marini, *Iscrizioni-Albane*, Rome, 1785, p. 11. Leo X. bestowed a pension on him and his son: E. Müntz, *Les Antiq. de la ville de Rome*, p. 44.

[3] *Felici De Fredis Qui Ob Proprias Virtutes Et Repertum Lacohontis Divinum Quod In Vaticano Cernis Fere Respirans Simulachrum Immortalitatem Meruit Federicoque Paternas Et Avitas Animi Dotes Referenti Immatura Nimis Morte Praeventis Hieronyma Branca Uxor Et Mater Juliaque De Fredis De Militibus Filia Et Soror Moestissime Posuerunt MDXXVIIII.*

and on a similar pedestal, of the height of an altar, and opposite a beautiful fountain stands the world-famous Laocoon. The figure is of the highest excellence, life size, with bristling beard, entirely naked. We can even see the veins, the nerves in every part as in a living being; breath alone is wanting. Laocoon has a boy at each side. Both like him are entangled in the folds of serpents, as Virgil has described. The skill of the master here shows itself supreme; we see the boys languish and die. The serpent is twice closely twisted round the one on the right, its teeth pierce his breast and squeeze his heart so that he dies. The other on the left is also encircled by a serpent. He tries with his arm to detach the reptile from his leg, but since he can in nowise help himself, he looks with tearful face to his father, whose right arm he grasps with the other hand. But as he beholds his father in a yet more deadly conflict, a twofold pain is seen in the boy—sorrow for his own immediate death and grief that his father cannot help him, and thus he languishes nigh to death. It appears impossible that human art could achieve so great and natural a work. The whole statue is unimpaired, save that the right arm of the Laocoon is missing. He looks about forty years old and resembles Messer Girolamo Marcello of San Tommaso. The two children are apparently eight and nine years old."[1]

Soon after the Laocoon the statue of Commodus as Hercules was found in the Campo di Fiori, and

[1] *Viaggio degli Oratori Veneti*, Albéri, *ut supra*, p. 115.

The Torso of Hercules.

in the same place beside the Palazzo Pio the Torso of Hercules.[1] This celebrated masterpiece, the Greek copy of a statue of Lysippus, had probably adorned the Theatre of Pompey.[2] Julius II. placed it in the Belvedere, from which it received its surname. Michael Angelo admired the Torso as the model of ideal sculpture and called it his master. Another ancient statue awoke scarcely less enthusiasm; the recumbent figure of the deserted Ariadne, which, on account of the serpent-bracelet, was believed to be the statue of Cleopatra, and as such was sung by Castiglione.[3] Julius acquired it from Girolamo Maffei and placed it in the Belvedere. The site of its discovery is unknown. Close to S. Croce, in the ruins of the so-called Temple of Venus and Cupid, was found the statue of Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of Severus Alexander, depicted as Venus, which was likewise brought to the Belvedere.

Beside these statues Julius II. collected yet other antiquities which were placed in the Vatican gardens and in the loggie.[4] Under his immediate successors other masterpieces were added. Leo X. brought to the Vatican the statue of the Tiber and the celebrated figure of the Nile, both of which were excavated during his reign in the ruins of the Iseum

[1] Albertini, *De mirabilib. urbis*, p. 61.

[2] The bronze Hercules was excavated there in 1864.

[3] Beside the niche in which the statue is placed we may still read the verses of Castiglione (*Carmina Venet.*, 1558, p. 31), and others by Agostino Favoriti and Bernardo Baldi.

[4] He also had the ancient legionary Eagle erected in the portico of SS. Apostoli; the inscription says: *Tot Ruinis Servatam Jul. Card. Sixti IIII. Nepos Hic Statuit.*

beside S. Stefano in Caco.[1] He also exhibited in the Vatican two statues of Antinous found in the Baths of Trajan, and he caused the reliefs from the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius to be removed from S. Martina to the Capitol. In his time also the remains of the marble casing, which had given the form of a boat to the island in the Tiber, were again noticed.[2]

The passion for collecting antiquities must have been greatly fostered by discoveries such as these. Excavations were zealously carried on in Rome and the Campagna. A collection of antiquities in the halls was considered an essential equipment of a Roman palace; and we have already observed several palaces where beautiful antiquities were to be seen about the end of the fifteenth century. Agostino Chigi, Domenico Massimi, Colucci and Goritz, Cardinals such as Riario, Piccolomini, Grimani, Caraffa, Galeotto Rovere, and above all, Giovanni Medici, prosecuted the search for antiquities.[3] The house of Sassi in Parione, the palaces of Laurentius Manilii, of the S. Croce, Branca, Ciampolini, Cesi, Gottifredi, Valle, Colonna, Porcari,

Antiques collected in Roman palaces.

[1] In the time of Poggio the Nile had already been excavated and reburied. Vol. vi. p. 714 of this history. In 1523 the Venetian ambassador saw the Nile and the Tiber placed in the garden of the Belvedere. Concerning the place of their discovery, see A. Fulvius, ii. 148. Seb. Serlio wrongly asserts that they were found on the Quirinal. *Il terzo libro di Archit.*, p. 80.

[2] A. Fulvius, iii. 192. Under Paul III. the Belvedere also received the celebrated Mercury, *i.e.*, Antinous, which was found in the same Baths of Trajan, beside S. Martino ai Monti.

[3] Giovanni Medici sang in verse the praises of a Lucrezia discovered in the Trastevere; see Fabroni, p. 37.

Ponzetti, the houses of the Maffei and Buzi beside the Minerva, were filled with antiquities.[1] Statues were even placed in courtyards, and fragments of inscriptions were built into the walls and wells of staircases, a custom which still survives in Rome.[2]

The city could therefore offer to the sculptor the richest school of classic studies, and no place in the world is better adapted to inspire modern sculpture. If she has failed in this object, the cause is perhaps not so much that the wealth of ancient models has stifled the independent spirit of sculpture, as that the sculptor's art has been handicapped by the weight of all the obstacles opposed to it by Christianity. The sphere of its achievements has been limited to decoration, in which the Renascence of the fifteenth century produced the standard examples, and to the restricted province of sepulchral monuments and the representation of saints.

Sansovino.

In the time of Julius II. the best works of this kind are those of Andrea Contucci of Monte Sansovino. This distinguished sculptor, a pupil of Pollajuolo, had become celebrated by his works in Florence, Genoa and Lisbon. The Pope gave him the commission for two tombs in S. Maria del Popolo. This church was the favourite foundation of the Rovere, and since the time of Sixtus IV. had been the temple of Renascence art. Julius caused

[1] Albertini, *De Mirabil. Urbis.* Ulisse Aldovrandi afterwards compiled a book *Delle Statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, e case si veggono* (Venice, 1556).

[2] Several palaces were adorned with Roman inscriptions placed in the courtyards and on the staircases. Mazocchi notes them in his collection of inscriptions, A.D. 1521.

the choir, the vaulted roof of which had been painted by Pinturicchio, to be enlarged by Bramante, and the windows adorned with painted glass, the finest in Rome. These windows are the work of two French masters, Claude and Guillaume Marcillat, whom Bramante had introduced to the Pope.[1] In the same choir Julius erected the tombs of Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso Rovere, works nobler in execution than in idea. They were finished by Contucci before 1509.[2]

Sansovino's best work in Rome is the seated group of S. Anna and the Madonna, made for the German prelate John Goritz, whose house was a centre of the most intellectual society in Rome. In 1512 it was placed in a chapel of S. Agostino, where it may still be seen. As one of the most graceful creations of sculpture at the period, it received the exaggerated praise of contemporaries. Sansovino employed several pupils in Rome, but soon went to Florence, and in 1513 received worthy employment for his talents in the commission for the reliefs in the Casa Santa at Loreto.

[1] Vasari, *Vita di Guglielmo da Marcilla*, viii. 96. The glass windows in the Vatican designed by these artists were destroyed in the sack of Rome.

[2] The shade of Ascanio can hardly have been laid to rest by the ostentatious magnanimity of the inscription placed to his memory by the enemy of his house: *Ascanio Mariae Sf. Vicecomiti Francisci Sfortiae Insubr. Ducis F. Diaconi Card. S. R. E. Vicecancellar. In Secundis Reb. Moderato in Adversis Summo Viro Vix. A. L. M. II. D. XXV. Julius II. P. M. Virtutum Memor Honestissimarum Contentionum Oblitus Sacello A Fund. Erecto Posuit MDV.* Andrea, son of Niccolò Contucci of Monte Sansovino, was born in 1460 and died in 1529.

Had Michael Angelo received a like commission at the right time, had he been ordered, for instance, to decorate with sculptures the façade of the Cathedral of Florence or that of S. Lorenzo, it would have been fortunate for himself and a gain to art. But an evil star prevented him executing in marble the great compositions which he achieved as painter.

Michael Angelo.

The world reverences the most powerful artist of Renascence times as an intellectual hero, such as Dante, Shakespeare, Columbus or Luther. Dante was happier, in that he was able to combine in a single creation the collective culture of the Middle Ages, and this monumental unity remains an inimitable achievement. In Dante's time culture was still confined within the Church; in the time of Michael Angelo it had emancipated itself from the Church's influence, or had become severed into two distinct cultures, that of Christianity and that of paganism, the union of which might possibly be effected by philosophic thought, but not by works of art. A scattered, almost fragmentary world of sublime conceptions, or imperfectly finished figures, surrounds Michael Angelo—a mind filled with grave melancholy, swayed with the passion of creative impulse. His works, as the creation of a single mind, awake reverence by the profundity of power which they reveal; nevertheless they are merely the torsos of a Titanic intellect, to whom the harmonious completeness of the ancient masters was denied, or who was forced to lament that he had appeared in an age which, in spite of the renascence of beauty, could only offer to artistic genius

inferior means and tasks compared to the great works of classic antiquity.

His intercourse with Julius was sympathetic and fruitful; the energies of these two vigorous men harmonised with one another; and, indeed, Julius was a plastic individuality suited to Michael Angelo's own measure. After having erected his Pietà in Rome in 1499 the youthful sculptor returned to Florence. Here he had to execute commissions for Piccolomini, the future Pius III., namely fifteen statues for the Library of the Cathedral in Siena. In 1504, however, he erected his David in front of the Palazzo dei Signori in Florence, and this great statue justly appeared a marvel to his contemporaries.[1] In it genius gave effect to the revolution which had been accomplished in art. It swept away at one blow every scholastic tradition. Antiquity, hitherto only beheld in the statues which had been excavated, here appeared as the living work of a living sculptor; for the young David of the Bible stood here publicly before the people, the colossal figure of a hero. Michael Angelo had seen the Apollo in Rome and may have been influenced by it; nevertheless the great originality of his genius is already evident in the David, and beyond its nudity, the figure has scarcely anything in common with the antique. Michael Angelo in fact imitated antiquity as little as Dante imitated

His David.

[1] How great was the enthusiasm it inspired is shown by Varchi in his *Orazione funerale di Michelang.* (Florence, 1564); he would not have accepted the Laocoon, Apollo and all the statues of Rome in exchange for the single David.

Virgil; the two men of genius in their incomparable originality tower like obelisks far above the Renascence. Michael Angelo beheld nature as only he was able to behold it. He created his own artistic mythology of Titanic shapes.

Scarcely had he finished the David when he competed with Leonardo for the highest palm in painting: he designed the cartoon representing a scene in the Pisan war of August 1505—naked warriors by a river. This admired work was never executed, and the cartoon itself perished. In the same year, 1505, at the instigation of Giuliano di Sangallo, Julius summoned Michael Angelo to Rome.[1] Curiously enough the first commission which the Pope gave to the great artist was the order for his tomb. In an age of feverish desire for immortality, which had made extravagance in funeral monuments epidemic, Julius was to be pardoned for wishing to assure himself of a magnificent tomb, although a mere glance at the Via Appia or the mausoleums of the Emperors might have sufficed to show the vanity of such an ambition. The colossal design for the tomb is entirely due to the artist, who with powerful imagination selected an unimportant subject, amplified it into a perfect world of art, and exaggerated it to such a degree that it was found impossible to complete the work. The isolated monument was intended to contain

He is summoned to Rome by Julius II.

Design for the tomb of Julius II.

[1] Michael Angelo's life and works have been dealt with from the time of Vasari and Condivi, in innumerable histories of art. In recent times the latest biography of the great artist, by Hermann Grimm, has met with well-merited approval.

no fewer than forty statues, among them the figures of the subjugated provinces, of all the arts and virtues, genii and angels, Rachel and Leah, S. Paul and Moses. At the summit the figures of Heaven and Earth were to bear up the sarcophagus of the Pope, as that of some sleeping god.

As Julius, however, approved of this grandiose design, his Pharaonic self-importance must have excited the irony of the sculptor, to whom the person of the prince was of no importance compared with the triumph of his artistic ideas. How immeasurable was the extent of Julius' self-importance may be inferred from the statement of contemporaries, that Michael Angelo's design inspired the Pope with the idea of rebuilding S. Peter's in order to obtain a suitable space for his monument in the new tribune.[1]

As early as 1505 Michael Angelo went to Carrara, where he remained eight months, to procure the necessary blocks of marble. They were conveyed to the Piazza of S. Peter's, where between the Church of S. Catarina and the corridor the sculptor had erected his studio. The Pope, who entered into everything with fervour, and hastened everything onward, watched the work with impatience. He caused a bridge to be thrown from the corridor to the studio and frequently crossed it to urge

[1] Vasari, xii. 180. *Onde, cresciuto lo animo a papa Giulio, fu cagione che si risolvè a metter mano a rifare di nuovo la chiesa di S. Piero di Roma per mettercela drento, come s'e detto altrove.* More especially in the *Vita di Giuliano di S. Gallo*, vii. 221. Less decided in this respect is Condivi, *Vita di Michelang. Buon.*, Florence, 1746, n. 27.

the artist forward. During the rest of the Pope's life and for long after the entire work was a source of annoyance to Michael Angelo. It is well known that the Pope and the sculptor disagreed: the manly dignity with which Angelo encountered such a patron, his departure for Florence, Julius' anger, the intercession of the Florentine signory, the meeting and the reconciliation of the two, and the respect which the Pope professed for the genius, are fine episodes in the life of these two forceful minds, and do equal honour to both.

The fugitive reappeared in presence of the Pope at Bologna in November 1506, where he remained occupied on the bronze statue of Julius. This was erected on February 21, 1508, and is the same that was destroyed by the angry populace in December 1511.[1]

When Michael Angelo returned to Rome in the spring of 1508, he was prevented by other tasks, more especially by the paintings in the Sistina, from continuing his labours on the tomb. It redounds to the credit of Julius, that, forgetful of himself, he employed the artist on works of a higher order. These hindrances were succeeded by many others. And already in accordance with the Pope's last wishes the original design had been reduced.

After tedious law-suits with the executors of the will, particularly with the Duke of Urbino, the tomb

[1] The Pope was represented as seated, the right hand bestowing the benediction, the left, however, holding the keys and not the sword, as Julius himself is said to have desired. See, on Vasari, xii. 187, the *Prospetto cronologico* in Le Monnier's edition, p. 348.

was only erected in 1550, in S. Pietro in Vincoli. At the sight of the mutilation of his favourite work, the aged artist must have confirmed the truth of the assertion, that the creations which laborious man leaves behind are only fragments of his spirit and ideals.[1]

It is touching to think that the most important works in sculpture of Michael Angelo are consecrated to the idea of death; *i.e.*, the Pietà and the tombs of Julius II. and the Medici. The fact is explained by his disposition, by accident, and also by the relation of the Christian religion to the sculptor's art. Sepulchral figures are the highest achievements of Christian sculpture from the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus to the works of Michael Angelo. Art had travelled a long distance along this Via Appia of the cult of the dead from the first step to the last. But the distance appears almost greater when we compare the graceful works of the Cosmati with the majestic achievements of Michael Angelo. No more sublime creations of the kind have ever been conceived by artist. That the tomb of Julius II. was reduced to a single façade placed against a wall is a loss that art must ever lament. True, that, as Cardinal Gonzaga decided, the single figure of Moses is sufficient to serve as a worthy monument to the celebrated pope. But how different would this statue have appeared to the spectator, had it formed an appropriate part of a harmonious whole!

[1] See the commentary on Vasari's *Vita di Michelangelo*, p. 312, *Della Sepottura di Papa Giulio II.*, in which the artist's letter of vindication is also printed.

Only Moses, Leah and Rachael are by the hand of Michael Angelo, the remainder of the work was executed by his pupils. The horned and naked giant with beard falling like a cataract seems to belong to some strange race of gods or giants, whose home we might seek rather in the Edda than the Bible. The Moses of Michael Angelo is the most forcible effort of Christian sculpture, perhaps the most intimate expression of the power of its creator, who himself seemed to stand under the dominion of the Herculean ideal; it is a gigantic cast to the furthest possible confines of nature. Beside him already yawns the abyss for the errors of the monstrosity of a pseudo-Titanism, into which the school of the Master quickly fell, when the lofty flames of that intellect were quenched, of whose vast problems he himself alone had been the measure.[1] The effect of this strange figure of Moses would probably have been less striking had the monument been erected in the choir of S. Peter's instead of amid an insignificant architectural environment in the titular church of Julius II. Although the remains of the founder of the new cathedral repose within the building, yet owing to a singular accident he has failed to obtain the longed-for honour of being perpetuated here by any monument, an honour that no pope better deserved.[2]

[1] We may call to mind the time of Bernini and his school, and recollect the Titan-dwarf of the Moses fountain of the Termini in Rome.

[2] He was buried in the Sistine Chapel, which Sixtus IV. had built in S. Peter's, and where Sixtus is also buried. Julius gave it the name of Julia. Bull of 1513 for the school of choristers founded

3. PAINTING—MICHAEL ANGELO'S PICTURES ON THE ROOF OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL—THE LAST JUDGMENT—RAFFAELLE—HIS PAINTINGS IN THE STANZE OF THE VATICAN.

Painting, the most perfect product of the Italian national spirit, was more fortunate in its development than sculpture. Even had Italy created nothing more than the magnificent splendour of her schools of painting, these alone would have sufficed to secure immortality to her genius. The development of Italian painting reveals no disturbing element, but on the contrary offers the spectacle of the organic growth of a plant, favoured by every circumstance. This, the most adaptable of the arts, eagerly imbibed every element of the culture of the time. It invariably rested on the basis of religion, from which it drew its inner life, but nevertheless it did not reject the influence of classic paganism. That which sculpture had been to the ancient religion, painting was in a still greater degree to Christianity; the favourite art, the chosen interpreter of her mysteries and her most powerful organ. The important chapter which it fills in the history of culture is highly attractive, precisely because it gives colour and substance to the entire history of the dogmas of mankind, and to the most recondite ideas and feelings of the age. In former times, while Christian ideas degenerated into a material

The development of Italian painting.

there (*Bullar. Vat.*, ii. 350). Paul III. caused it to be demolished, and the tombs of Sixtus and Julius to be removed to the Chapel of the Sacrament.

idolatry, painting had correspondingly depicted to barbarous mankind the likenesses of its gods or saints in colour or mosaics, but even these had preserved a trace of idealism. It had by slow degrees renounced Byzantine influences, when the discovery of a purer world of forms and the ideal of Madonna-like beauty was revealed in Giotto. Henceforward painting advanced step by step from the supernatural and dogmatic to the realm of nature. It rediscovered the despised body and reconciled it to the spirit. It rejected the hieratic and monkish type of ugliness, and without prejudice elevated beauty to the summit of art.[1] Painting suffered the influence of the great revolution in faith, thought and taste in the renascence of paganism. It no longer restricted itself to the symbolisation of religious events, but succeeded in depicting the beautiful material life of an aesthetic idea.

Its ideal became artistic; its law the union of the natural and ideal, the expressive form of beauty. It drew its subjects from every province that Christianity had united within its fold. The art of the sixteenth century was equally familiar with the

[1] The ideal of Christ depicted in the Catacombs, and even in the mosaics of Ravenna, is young and beautiful; after Saec. VII. appears the decrepit type of the Byzantines, in accordance with the views of Tertullian and Cyril, that Christ was the most ill-favoured of men. Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne*, Paris, 1843, p. 240 sq.—In later times it was only old and grotesque pictures of saints which continued to work miracles. I have never heard of a Madonna of Perugino, Raffaelle or Correggio acquiring celebrity for turning its eyes or healing the sick.

world of the Bible and that of Homer. But if the compositions from the antique by Raffaelle, Giulio Romano, Sodoma and Guido Reni might have deserved the recognition of even classic artists, still the painting of that age never deserted its historic soil, but found the subjects of its most grandiose creations in the history of Christian culture. It brought the figures of the Old and New Testament to an ideal perfection.

In the beginning of Julius II.'s reign, the renowned painters belonging to the schools of the fifteenth century were still active, and other younger men had already sprung into repute. Perugino, Signorelli, Sodoma, whom Agostino Chigi had brought to Rome in 1507, painted in the Vatican. The Venetian Sebastiano del Piombo had acquired celebrity, and one of the most talented artists of the age was Peruzzi, who decorated the palaces of Rome with beautiful frescoes in terretta or chiaroscuro. Then appeared the two masters who raised painting to its highest position — Michael Angelo and Raffaelle.

ceiling

Michael Angelo's paintings in the Sistina.

On May 10, 1508, Michael Angelo began the paintings on the roof of the Sistina, where Julius II. wished to complete the pictorial decorations which his uncle had begun in the chapel. If the statements of Vasari and Condivi are correct, the commission was due to the envy of Bramante and others, who wished to expose the artist, and it was only with reluctance that Angelo applied himself to the work—new to him—of painting in fresco. His task was stupendous. The Biblical myth of

the Creation, the Fall and the Redemption of Mankind was represented in a series of incomparable pictures. His contemplative nature led him to the Old Testament. In the Bible of Judaism repose the primal mysteries of the human race, the fundamental thoughts of their civilisation, and their earliest and eternally insoluble problems. From the Bible of Judaism, Michael Angelo drew the figures in which as sculptor he showed his highest gifts, David, Moses, Leah, Rachel. He steeped himself in its mysteries and created imperishable beings, forms of the highest originality. He painted as a sculptor; his compositions in colour in the Sistina are sculpturesque painting. Never did Michael Angelo hold in such admirable restraint the superabundance of the powers which urged him onwards, as in his "Creation," or in the Prophets, or those Sibyls, in which he combined the Greek ideal of the goddess with an Apocalyptic being, endowed with a beauty of genuinely tragic sublimity, such as that of the Delphic Sibyl.

The work, first unveiled in November 1512, evoked a storm of enthusiasm, owing not only to the ideal greatness of the compositions but also to the perfection of the drawing and modelling. No painter before Michael Angelo had seen nature under so great an aspect, so free and bold in outline. "This work," said Vasari, "was and is the lamp of our art. It has given such impetus and light to painting as has sufficed to illuminate a world that lay in darkness for many centuries." The opinion expressed by contemporaries remains

unchanged, these admirable creations being still esteemed the finest works of Michael Angelo. The critic has questioned the value of "The Last Judgment," but never that of the paintings on the roof.

Picture of the Last Judgment.

With "The Last Judgment" Michael Angelo closed his long years of work in the Sistina. The subject must have attracted him as sculptor, repelled him as philosopher. It offered him as the end of the Creation the whole thrilling drama of humanity, where Heaven and Hell stand severed in irreconcilable antagonism. Dante had bequeathed this curious motive to painters, or rather condemned painters to toil after it in vain. No one performed the task successfully, for the subject itself lies beyond the confines of pictorial art. Even Michael Angelo seems to have attained to nothing more than a merely formal relation to the principle of his picture, the revolting dogma of Augustinian theology. And yet this picture belongs to the period, when the soul of the artist was already steeped in gloomy contempt of the world and mystic subtleties, and had fallen under the influence of his love for the pious Vittoria Colonna.

There is indeed nothing actually religious, nothing conciliatory in his "Last Judgment," a work of cold and secular character. And if in the paintings on the roof of the Sistina all the colossal figures are transfused with the light of an inward spirituality, still even there all is studied artificiality and effort of muscular strength, a rush and torrent of bodies, full of theatrical splendour and anatomical study of the nude;—a soulless neo-Latin paganism of



form. The figure of Christ is so entirely secular and athletic, that, to the Judge of the world standing with arm outstretched ready to strike, only the club is wanting to make him appear a Nemean Hercules.[1] The Last Judgment was unveiled on Christmas Day 1541; it therefore bears the stamp of a new age, that of the ecclesiastical reaction against the beauteous world of the Renascence with its liberal humanism and platonic ideas.

Raffaelle comes to Rome, 1508.

In the summer of 1508 Raffaelle first appeared in Rome beside Michael Angelo.[2] No contrast could have been greater than that between the Titanic Aeschylus of art and the Phaedo-like darling of the Graces. Michael Angelo so immeasurably deeper, more original and independent than Raffaelle, wished to subdue nature herself and to mould her forcibly according to his ideas; nature avenged herself, for the artist became mannered, and where he was not mannered, the multitude failed to understand the philosophic grandeur of his art. But without effort, and easily understood by the people, Raffaelle revealed his inspired nature. He was the favourite of fortune. The tone of his character was lyrical; his domain was the beauty of life expressed in form,

[1] In the painting in the Sistina the ideal of Christ appears to have declined. Even although I question the justice of Didron's opinion that Michael Angelo unintelligently copied the movement of Christ's hand from the picture by Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa, his severe criticism is nevertheless not without foundation: *jamais Dieu n'a été plus abaissé que par le dur artiste de Florence.* (*Iconographie chrét.*, p. 267.)

[2] The first definite date of his sojourn in Rome is that of September 5, 1508, when he wrote to Francesco Francia in Bologna. Carlo Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaelle*, p. 27.

in which all dissonances are resolved in harmony. To the mysterious depths, in which brood the problems, the contradictions and the sorrows of life, this fortunate being did not penetrate. The fascination of his genius lies in feeling; he works in the moral, not in the intellectual sphere. Intellectually Michael Angelo abolished the Middle Ages, and appears so entirely independent and original, that the connection between his art and the ideals of the past is scarcely perceptible. As courageously as Luther liberated the religious spirit from the scholasticism of the Church, did Michael Angelo emancipate the artistic from the scholasticism of art and make the individual Ego his law and standard. In Raffaelle however the historic progress of art is perfectly clear. The old ideals still show themselves here and there in his work; he still retains the charming naïveté of an earlier age. His creations are distinguished by an unconscious union of knowledge and faith, which endows them with the fascinating brilliance of youth, happiness and content.[1] Posterity has dedicated to Raffaelle a cult of reverence, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century amounted to cant.[2] We must indeed acknowledge that he is the essentially Christian

[1] Vasari, the founder of the modern History of Art, and, in spite of his levity, the most deserving of study of all historians of the subject, has never given a more fascinating description of the person and gifts of any artist than in the introduction to his *Life of Raffaelle.*

[2] We may recollect the literary epoch of Novalis and the Contemplations of a Sentimental Friar [Wachenroder's *Herzensergiessungen von einem kunstliebenden Klosterbruder?*—TRANSL.]



painter, or that he has expressed with classic perfection the Christian ideal of art.

He had been reared in the traditions of the religious art of Umbria. His native city lay far from the soil from which the statues of antiquity arose, and although the castle of Montefeltre had become a centre of independent culture, its influences cannot have reached him in his childhood. His father painted saints. In the Umbrian school Raffaelle inhaled the spirit of that grace congenial to his nature which inspired the pictures of Ottaviano Nelli, Lo Spagna and Francia. The sun of this school was the ideal of the Madonna, and to this Raffaelle remained faithful. His teacher Perugino was the greatest master of the religious school of Umbria. If in Shakespeare we can discover the lineaments of his predecessors in the drama—English as well as Italian—whom he cast into the shade, still more clearly can we see in Raffaelle's pictures the features of Perugino. It is highly interesting to observe how the style of the master gradually vanishes until the pupil attains his own individuality. In 1503 he aided Pinturicchio in his paintings in the Library of Siena.[1] Arrived in Florence in the autumn of 1504, he fell under the influence of the intellectual enlightenment of the city and the feeling for nature shown in its

His development.

[1] Gruyer, *Raphael et l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1864, i. 229 sq., seeks to show that the ancient statues of the Graces which had been placed in the Library in Siena had determined Raffaelle's development. But even if these statues, which Cardinal Piccolomini possessed in his palace in Rome, were at that time already to be found in Siena, can we venture to ascribe to them so great an influence?

school of painting. He here studied the antique as well as the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo. He shook off the narrow trammels of the Umbrian school. Wandering backwards and forwards between Florence and Perugia, occupied in both, he was in Florence in the summer of 1508, when he received the summons to Rome which he owed to his fellow-countryman Bramante. Several splendid works had already announced his genius; the Coronation of Mary (in the Vatican), the Sposalizio (in the Brera), the Madonna Ansidei and the Conestabile (in Perugia), the Madonna del Cardellino (in the Uffizi), del Giardino (in Vienna), the Bella Giardiniera (in Paris), del Baldacchino (in the Pitti), the Deposition (in the Borghese Gallery).

On the soil of Rome and associating with the most cultivated intellects of the age, Raffaelle could give free scope to his admirable gifts and ennoble his art by study of the antique, without forfeiting that Umbrian grace from which emanated the spiritual charm of his painting. In his most beautiful figures individuality assumes a spiritual transparency which is indescribable. Although entirely natural, they have a passionless clearness and idealism. His women, full of life and reality, have only so much of sensuousness as the Graces.

Julius II. commissioned Raffaelle to paint the papal dwelling-rooms of the story of the Vatican, which had been built by Nicholas V.; for in hatred of the memory of Alexander VI. he would not occupy the Appartamento Borgia. Already under Nicholas V., and then under Sixtus IV. paintings

on the walls had been executed by Piero della Francesca and Bramantino, Bartolommeo della Gatta and Luca Signorelli, and under Julius II. by Perugino and Sodoma. But when the Pope saw Raffaelle's work, he caused these paintings to be effaced, and it was only from motives of reverence that Raffaelle saved a few pictures of the two last-named artists on the roof. He began painting the Stanze at the end of the year 1508, and remained occupied on the work twelve years and until his death; not indeed until after this event was his last picture in the Sala di Constantino finished by his pupils.

Raffaelle's paintings in the Stanze of the Vatican.

Although these celebrated compositions are by no means his finest artistic creations, their importance, as historic monuments of culture at a great epoch, assures them a high place among his works. Nothing gives so clear a conception of the tenour of contemporary ideas as a glance into Raffaelle's Stanze, where the task of the artist was that of representing the culture of mankind in its main directions. But in order to acquire so universal a consciousness, it was necessary that art should first have mastered the whole contents of Humanism. Its flight to so high a pinnacle of thought was dangerous. For in soaring into strange regions, it incurred the danger of losing itself in abstractions and again creating symbols instead of the body. If in painting the nether world and the fall of Troy in the Lesche of Delphi, Polygnotus had found it necessary, in spite of the clearness of his treatment, to place their names below his figures, the precaution would have been still more necessary in the case of the Disputa

and the School of Athens. In these pictures, whose subjects are but ill-adapted for a work of art, the crowd of figures belonging to diverse periods is grouped together not by the mode of treatment, but by an abstract act of comprehension, while it is only the names of Plato, Archimedes, Pythagoras and the like that give significance to the figures themselves.

On account of the exalted ideas therein depicted, the Stanza della Segnatura contains the most remarkable of Raffaelle's creations in the Vatican. For the most important provinces of the human intellect are here expressed in ideal and thoughtful compositions: philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, poetry are represented in great actions and in beautiful personifications.[1] The Saviour and the patriarchs, apostles, teachers of the church and popes, mediaeval saints, philosophers of Athens and of heathendom down to Averroes, Apollo and the Muses, classic and modern poets, Justinian and Tribonianus, and the Pope of the Decretals Gregory IX., the schoolman Thomas Aquinas, and Savonarola, who had been executed as a heretic, cover the walls of one and the same room, and form a great intellectual chain connecting pagan and Christian culture.[2]

[1] "If Raffaelle has been called a philosophic painter, the reason and justice of this honourable title is found above all in the power of the ideas displayed in the Stanza della Segnatura. Never has creative art dealt with more profound ideas, and never have they been treated more clearly or sublimely." H. Hettner, *Ital. Studien zur Gesch. der Renaissance*, Brunswick, 1879, p. 212.

[2] Several artists of the fifteenth century had painted ancient sub-

The restricted horizon of the mediaeval church had vanished. A pope had the temerity to condemn the doctrines of the Fathers of the Church, by which pagans, however great their virtues or worldly fame, were sentenced to irrevocable perdition. When Julius II. surveyed the paintings in his rooms in the Vatican, his gaze must assuredly have lingered with greater pleasure on Apollo and the Muses, on Socrates and Archimedes, than on the dreary figures of patriarchs and saints. The pictures in the Pope's hall expressed the ideas to which twenty years later one of the boldest of reformers gave utterance in inspired words. In his confession of faith Zwingli drew a curious picture of the future assembly of all the saints, heroes and the virtuous; he associated Abel and Enoch, Noah and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob with Hercules, Theseus and Socrates, with Aristides and Antigonus, Numa and Camillus, the Catos and Scipios, and thereby expressed his belief that not a single honest holy or faithful man would fail to appear before the face of God.[1]

jects: *e.g.* Mantegna, Botticelli, Piero di Cosimo, and even Perugino, who in this sphere of ideas may be regarded as Raffaelle's predecessor. I allude to his painting in the Cambio of Perugia (of the year 1500), where he depicted ancient heroes, law-givers and philosophers in company with sibyls and prophets and allegorical figures of the virtues.

[1] Before his death Zwingli addressed this *Christi fidei clara expositio* to Francis I. It was printed by Bullinger in 1536. The passage referred to above, which I owe to Lecky's *History of Rationalism in Europe* (c. 4), was quoted by Bossuet (*Histoires des Variations des églises protestantes*, Paris, 1691, lib. ii. c. 19); and the celebrated theologian adds: *je ne scay pourquoy il n'y a pas mis Apollon, ou Bacchus, et*

The Papacy of this age was inspired by grandiose ideas of its secular mission. Shortly before the schism in the Catholic Church, it still retained the belief that it was the central spiritual force in the world. The importance of the State of the Church, which had been restored by Julius II., and on which constantly rested the hierarchical rule in Europe, as well as the temporal policy of the popes, had come forward as a new theory. The fiction of Constantine's Donation, which Valla had made ridiculous, and the secular wars of the Papacy against France represented in the frescoes of Heliodorus, the expulsion of Attila and the naval victory at Ostia, glorified and disguised under the veil of religion, were purposely depicted in the same rooms. With the exception of the Disputa and the Mass of Bolsena, theological subjects are eclipsed by secular, and all stress is laid upon political matters and those relating to the history of culture.[1]

Raffaelle finished the Stanza della Segnatura in 1511, and Julius lived to see the completion of the principal pictures in the Hall of Heliodorus. As the Pope contemplated the frescoes in the palace and the Sistine Chapel, he may have told himself that the greatest masterpieces of historic painting had arisen at his command in the Vatican. That which with noble aim he had founded, that which

Jupiter mesme. Luther also, in accordance with his dogmatic principles, vehemently denounced this association.

[1] We do not know who planned the cycle of paintings in the Stanze. The fundamental idea probably belonged to Julius II., and the Pope and artist may probably have taken into their counsel men of intellect such as Sadoleto, Bembo, Castiglione and Inghirami.

had been created according to his ideas by Bramante, Michael Angelo, Raffaelle and other masters in every department of creative art in Rome, was indeed so epoch-making, that the golden age of classicism should more justly have borne the name of its founder Julius than that of Leo, his fortunate heir.[1] The greatness of Julius II. consists in the impulses which he gave, and in the force of his personality, a personality which in manifold ways he impressed upon his age. These impulses gave rise to creations far-reaching in their effects, which are themselves the permanent and only praiseworthy monuments of the life of this Pope. He caused these works to arise, while like Sixtus IV. he was indefatigably engaged with ambitious political schemes, and the greatest creations of peace came into being in Rome at the very time when the flames of war raged in Italy, when the Papacy was harassed with schism, and when the enemy after his victory at Ravenna was threatening to conquer even Rome herself.

[1] Fea (*Notizie*, etc., pars. 2) draws a parallel between the two popes, and decides that the merits of Julius II. were greater than those of Leo X., "of so exalted a nature that after Romulus and Augustus he may be called the third founder of Rome." See in his work extracts from Inghirami's Funeral Oration on the Pope, and the speech of Alberto Foglietta, who attributes to Julius II. the characteristics of a genuine Roman; magnificence in building and invincible *Virtus* in war. What would Leo I. and Gregory I. have said to this pagan transformation of the Apostolic office?

CHAPTER III.

1. ELECTION OF LEO X.—HIS MAGNIFICENT PROCESSION TO THE LATERAN—THE POPE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POWERS—WAR WITH FRANCE AND VENICE—BATTLE OF NOVARA, JUNE 6, 1513—LEWIS XII. ABJURES THE SCHISM—LEO X. AND HIS NEPHEWS—PORTUGUESE EMBASSY.

ON March 4, 1513, twenty-five electors assembled in Conclave, divided into two parties, the elder and the younger. The head of the elder was the wealthy Rafael Riario, a man of mediocre abilities, heir to the claims of the house of Rovere. He counted with certainty on the Papacy. The Bull of Julius II. against simonistic election must indeed be obeyed; nevertheless it was resolved that the successful candidate should divide his benefices among the electors. Not until March 6 did Giovanni Medici, carried from Florence on a litter, appear in Rome. He was ill, and his incurable malady—an open fistula — made him almost unapproachable. His surgeon was obliged to operate even in the Conclave. In such wise the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent came to take the tiara which must inevitably be awarded him. The younger cardinals,

Conclave, March 1513.

men of licentious and princely habits, Aragon, Gonzaga, Petrucci, Cornaro, de Saulis gathered round him, and his agent in the Conclave, the lively and eloquent Bernardo Dovizi, acted adroitly in his interests.

Giovanni Medici, candidate for the Papacy.

In favour of Medici were his recent fortunes, the splendour of his house, the aid that might be derived from Florence. He had been in the confidence of the Rovere. By effecting his restoration in Florence after prolonged exile, Julius II. himself seemed to have paved his way to the Sacred Chair. He was also the enemy of France, which had overthrown the Medici and kept him a prisoner. He was recommended by qualities that seemed to promise a brilliant but peaceful pontificate, was a popular cardinal of princely liberality, and was credited with gentleness and even goodness of heart. He was believed to be a man of moral life; he understood how to appear as such,[1] but he was vain and fond of pleasure. Prudence he undoubtedly possessed. His father once said: "I have three sons; one good, one shrewd, one a fool." The good was Giuliano, the shrewd Giovanni, the fool Piero.[2] He had grown up in an enviable atmosphere of intellect, splendour and beauty. Pico, Ficino, Poliziano, Chalcondylas and his own great father had been the instructors of his youth. The classic studies which he had begun in the Palazzo Medici he continued as cardinal in

[1] *Ed aveva saputo in modo simulare, che era tenuto di ottimi costumi*: Francesco Vettori, the confidant of the Medici, *Sommario*, p. 297.

[2] *Ho tre figliuoli; un buono, un savio, e un pazzo.* . . . Report of Marin Giorgi in Gar—Albéri, p. 52.

Rome. His house here (the present Palazzo Madama), which was always open, was the academy of all noble minds. With intellectual enthusiasm he encouraged art and learning. The sums which he spent in behalf not only of his exiled family, but of the Medicean party, had overwhelmed him with debts.[1] He never refused anyone anything; he promised even if he gave nothing. The self-contained diplomatic character of the Medici, and also the intellectually gifted nature of the Florentine, with its love of life and appreciation of all that was beautiful, were embodied in Cardinal Giovanni. By his speech and conversation, he won his way into the hearts of men. He fascinated all. Amiability atoned for the defects of his appearance which may be called forbidding. His head was unusually large, his neck short and thick, his body massive and his legs shrunk and diminutive. With his fat red face and prominent eyes—(he was short-sighted and used an eye-glass)—he entirely resembled, when seated, one of those offensive prelates, who were forthcoming by the hundred. An effeminate and highly impressionable nature is depicted in the celebrated portrait by Raffaelle. Nor is the white and delicate hand the hand either of a thinker or a man of action.[2]

Medici was just thirty-seven years old. When his opponents objected to him on account of his

[1] A great part of the wealth of Julius II. was consumed in paying his debts. Bandini, *Il Bibbieno*. . . . Leghorn, 1758, p. 12.

[2] *Leonis X. Vita auctore anon. conscripta*, in the Appendix to Roscoe, where the Pope is portrayed.

youth, the younger party replied that his physical health was incurable. It was firmly decided in Conclave that no pope of the "terrible" type of Alexander or Julius II. was to be elected. Riario, who had lost hope, soon gave the votes of his party in favour of his rival. So likewise did the bitterest enemy of the Medici, Soderini, who allowed himself to be won over by the promise of the restoration of his house and the honourable recall of his brother Piero from exile. On March 11 the name of Medici issued with a great majority from the urn. Giovanni himself as Archdeacon counted the list of votes and showed no excitement as he did so. Alexander Farnese announced the election to the rejoicing populace.[1] The cannon of S. Angelo were fired, and throughout Rome were heard the shouts: "Palle! Palle! Medici!" The newly-elected pope took the name of Leo X. The Leos of the Papacy had been great men; they had been victorious over Byzantium and had aggrandised the Church. But nothing of the lion's nature dwelt in the epicurean soul of Medici. Julius II. would probably have smiled at the audacity of the name. "Rather is this pope," wrote the imperial envoy Alberto Pio to his master, "gentle like a lamb than fierce like a lion; he is a man of peace."[2]

Leo X. Pope, 1513-1521.

All Italy hailed his election with joy. It seemed like a national event that a pope should issue from the celebrated house of Cosimo and Lorenzo.

[1] Paris de Grassis. Concerning the election, see among other authorities the Journal in *Lettres du roy Lewis XII.*, iv. 63.

[2] *Lettres du roy Louis XII.*, iv. 72.

Jovius afterwards drew a pleasing picture comparing the hereditary splendour of the Medici with the festival torch-races of the Athenians, where those in front handed the lighted torches to those who followed.[1] Since the time of Cosimo the fame of the Medici had acquired inextinguishable lustre. No other house equalled them either in political and financial greatness or in intellectual culture. When, after their disastrous fall under Piero, they now rose to a new height, the most exaggerated expectations were formed of the Papacy of Leo X. He was compared to the radiant sun-god, to Augustus, who had succeeded Julius Caesar. While still in conclave he appointed Bembo and Sadoleto, already celebrated scholars, to be his secretaries; the poets of Rome announced the dawn of a golden age.[2]

Leo X. was first consecrated priest and bishop, and was then crowned by Farnese on March 19.[3] Soon afterwards he showed himself to the people on the festival of Easter in the half-destroyed

[1] Preface to the *Vita Leonis X.* addressed to the Cardinal Ippolito Medici.

[2] Janus Vitalis Castalius: On the accession of Leo X., in Roscoe, ii., Appendix, n. iv. Epigrams were made on the name of Medici: the new Pope was to be a Saviour to Italy and the world. But epigrams such as the following soon appeared:

Languenti italie xpi fideique cadenti
Prefecit cecum roma licet medicum.

Bibl. Marciana, Lat. cl. xii. Cod. ccx.

[3] Paris relates that during the coronation ceremony, he held the burning hemp three times in front of the Pope *in cantu dicens: Pater sancte sic transit gloria mundi*; he is silent concerning the other formula: *non habebis annos Petri.*

cathedral. Men gazed in admiration as he walked barefoot and youthful in the procession, and when at the Coena Domini he washed the feet of the poor and kissed them not merely in outward show. Barefoot he kissed the Cross. To such ecclesiastical acts—they were accounted religion—people were no longer accustomed.[1]

Leo fixed his procession to the Lateran for April 11, the anniversary of the day on which he had been taken prisoner at Ravenna a year before. He invited the vassals of the Church from far and near; he even sent a friendly invitation to the Duke of Ferrara to return to Rome, whence he had just escaped. He would release him from the ban, and allow him to resume the insignia of his ducal dignity. On April 4 Alfonso came with Annibale Bentivoglio, whose brother Ermete had already arrived. The exiled Bentivogli hoped to obtain their restoration to Bologna from the new pope, who was on friendly terms with their house, as also with that of the Rangoni. But they deceived themselves.[2]

Leo loved every species of theatrical splendour. He delighted in spectacles, carnival scenes, comedies of Plautus, processions. He determined to go

[1] *Calceamenta deposuit—sed Papa Julius numquam voluit deponere, quia totus erat ex morbo Gallico ulcerosus.* Paris de Grassis—Chigi, iv. 11.

[2] *Tamen per quanto e decreto fin qui non gli sara concesso de star a bologna ma ben che godino el suo fuora de bologna.* Thus writes the afterwards celebrated Francesco Chieregato to the Marchesa Isabella, Rome, March 20, 1513. Gonzaga Archives, which contain thirty-seven original letters of Chieregati.

through Rome like a Trajan, riding the white horse he had ridden at Ravenna. The world should talk of the splendour of his festal day. He spent 100,000 ducats on this one day alone. For why should the Pope ascend the loftiest throne in the world but to display his majesty in splendour and pomp? It shows how vain and feminine was the mind of Leo X. that he discussed the ceremonial of his "possesso" in all its details with Paris, the master of the ceremonies.

Never had the like preparations for a papal procession been seen in Rome. A thousand artists painted, made statues, erected triumphal arches and put up the Medici coat of arms. This was the great festival of the Renascence, in the classic age of Raffaelle, an exhibition of the arts to do homage to the Medicean pope. Altars and triumphal arches were erected along the lengthy route from S. Peter's to the Lateran. The Palace of Constantine at the Lateran was restored and decorated for the papal banquet.

Leo X.'s progress was a triumph in the forms of the papal procession. Based on the ritual of ancient times, the programme was so magnificently developed that this spectacular representation of the secular papacy in 1513 is also the most gorgeous picture of its splendour.[1] Two hundred mounted

Leo X.'s procession to the Lateran.

[1] The description of the procession is given in Cancellieri, *De Possessu*, according to Paris and the eye-witness Penni, *Croniche delle Pompe fatte in Roma per la creazione et Incoronazione di P. Leone X.* (printed in Rome by Silber in 1513). Another account, taken from the history of Siena, by Titius, is given by Fabroni, *Vita Leonis X.*, App.



spearmen and *stradiotti* headed the procession; these were followed by the servants of the cardinals in their liveries and the lesser retainers of the court. A white horse caparisoned in rose-colour, with a small ladder. Then the twelve banderarii with red flags and the papal cursors on horseback. The thirteen captains of the regions with their banners. Next two horsemen carrying red flags with the figure of the Cherubim; then the cavalcade of the five great standard bearers; Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini, son of Gabriel, and Gonfaloniere of the Roman people, armed from head to foot and wearing a red silk mantle, carrying the banner of Rome; the Procurator of the Teutonic knights of Prussia with the flag of his order; the standard bearer of Rhodes, Fra Giulio Medici, still Prior of Capua, but the following day created Archbishop of Florence; the flag with the papal arms; the banner of the Church. Twelve white horses and mules with costly trappings and bridles from the papal stables. Young Roman nobles, equerries of honour, a hundred and twelve "camerieri" walking two and two and dressed in red silk with ermine; behind, four others carrying in their hands the glittering mitres and crowns of the Pope. Next followed the brilliant cavalcade of the lay nobility; more than a hundred Roman barons, the Colonna, Orsini, Conti, Caffarelli, Santa Croce, Savelli, Gaetani and others (outwardly on friendly terms), with the arms of their respective houses. Musicians in the papal livery, white, red and green, the colours of modern Italy. Two hundred gentlemen, vassals of the Church, among them Baglioni

of Perugia, Knight of Ferrara and Urbino, the Varano of Camerino, all in the richest costume and with great retinues, and following them numerous relations of the cardinals. A procession of Florentine nobles in brilliantly coloured attire, the Tornabuoni, Soderini, Salviati, Ricasoli, the Medici, Strozzi, Pucci and others. The cavalcades of the ambassadors, in order of rank, in the princely magnificence of their national costumes: first the orators of the State of the Church, of Bologna, Ravenna, Spoleto and the Patrimony; then the foreign embassies; the envoys of the Swiss; those of Florence, Francesco Vettori and Matteo Strozzi; those of Venice, Spain and France; the ambassador of the Emperor, Count Alberto Pio of Carpi, who rode between Jacopo Salviati and Giulio Scorciati, senator of Rome. Next came the retinue of the Duke of Urbino; the Duke himself, wearing black velvet, his retinue also clad in black, in mourning for his uncle Julius II. Little did he imagine, that in the course of a few years he would be driven from his dominions by Lorenzo Medici, the nephew who rode beside him.[1]

Then followed the clergy: first the *ostiarii* in red velvet, the subdeacons with their silver staves, the sacristans, all on foot. A white horse carried the Tabernacle of the Sacrament, above which a baldacchino borne by Roman citizens was surrounded by palfreniers bearing lighted tapers.

[1] Francesco Maria was at this time on the best of terms with Leo X., who ratified him in possession of Pesaro. Chieregati to the Marchesa Isabella, Rome, April 23, 1513. Gonzaga Archives.

The two naval prefects—antiquated figures, even in the time of Innocent III.—followed. Then the suite of consistorial advocates and scriveners, the school of choristers, all on horseback, in red or black robes. The clergy of the Camera, the auditors of the Rota; next the provincial clergy and those of the city; about 250 abbots, bishops, archbishops, prelates, patriarchs, cardinals; their horses covered with long white draperies. Each of the cardinals had a retinue of eight chamberlains. The train was headed by Gismondo Gonzaga and the young Alfonso Petrucci of Siena. Only four years later Pope Leo caused this youth to be strangled in the fortress of S. Angelo, past which he now advanced so haughtily. At the side of the last cardinal rode the Duke of Ferrara in a prince's mantle of gold brocade. All eyes were fixed on the celebrated hero of Ravenna, the husband of Lucrezia Borgia, the fugitive from the anger of Julius II. Only to fill the part of a lay figure in this scene of papal triumph had he been allowed to enter Rome. The excommunication which had been removed was soon again to fall upon his head. The conservators, puppets of the vanished liberty of Rome, modestly advanced on foot, like the senators in latest imperial times. The Swiss guard, 200 tall and handsome men, in yellow, green and white uniforms, with halberds on their broad shoulders, came behind. And at last the Pope, riding the white Turkish horse he had ridden at Ravenna!

Before His Holiness had mounted, Alfonso of Este had ridden the horse a short way and then

brought it to the Pope. It was led to the fountain in the Piazza of S. Peter's by the Duke of Urbino as Prefect of the city, thence onwards first by the Pope's nephew Lorenzo and the dynast Giammaria Varano, then by Roman nobles. Eight citizens carried the embroidered baldacchino. The Pope was overpowered by the weight of his tiara and vestments; his red face dripped with perspiration, but he was radiant in the consciousness of majesty.

Thus he advanced through Rome blessing the applauding crowd. Behind him followed first a solitary chamberlain, then a second, who scattered gold and silver from heavy purses among the people. Chamberlains, secretaries, protonotaries followed; then the armed Macerius with the papal umbrella; and a body of foot-soldiers and cavalry ended the train.

In Leo's coronation procession, therefore, with all its ritual form, only the pomp which characterised it could be called pagan. But paganism itself, thanks to the spirit of the times, was added to the scene by the Roman city. Pictures, emblems, mottoes, inscriptions, statues, all breathed the classic spirit of the Renascence. The newly-recovered effigies of the ancient divinities ranged along the spacious Via Triumphalis saluted the Head of Christendom as he passed. The possessor of beautiful antiquities displayed them in front of his house. Marble figures of the greatest value, Ganymede, Apollo, Bacchus, Venus, emperors and heroes were exhibited; at the house of the Valle, for instance, at that of Evangelista

de Rossi and at many others.[1] Statues of the Saviour and the Virgin, the apostles and saints, especially of SS. Cosma and Damiano, the Christian tutelary gods of the Medici, were placed beside the ancient divinities. The Pope advanced through triumphal arches amidst the emblems of paganism. Beside S. Angelo, where the Jewish synagogue offered him the Pentateuch, the provost of the fortress, Rafael Petrucci, Leo's friend and companion in exile, had covered the bridge with draperies and erected a triumphal arch. From the balls of the Medici, fountains poured forth water and wine. Apollo was there in a niche; but there, too, were paintings of Christian subjects. The Florentines, the Siennese, the Genoese, the wealthiest bankers in Rome, vied in doing homage to the Pope. In front of his palace in the Banks, Agostino Chigi had erected a triumphal arch on eight columns, which with its paintings and sculptures was a genuine work of art. Allegorical figures, nymphs, Apollo with the lyre, Mercury, the god of commerce, and Minerva were represented. The golden inscription on the frieze announced that—

"Once Venus reigned, once was the War-god's day;
The world is changed, and owns Minerva's sway."[2]

These lines referred to the reigns of Alexander

[1] At the house of Evangelista de Rossi *tante statue de marmo, alabastri e porfidi, che valeano un Tesoro*, among them a Diana, a Neptune, an Apollo; *con cavallo al lato assai grasioso*, Marsyas, Latona, Mercury, twelve busts of emperors (Penni).

[2] *Olim habuit Cypris sua tempora, tempora Mavors*
Olim habuit, sua nunc tempora Pallas habet.

and Julius II., and to the beginning of Leo's. The Pope may have smiled at them, still more may he have done so when immediately behind this Arch his eyes lighted on the statue of Venus, which the goldsmith Antonio of S. Marco had erected in front of his stall and had furnished with the inscription:

"Mars fuit: est Pallas; Cypria semper ero."

No reminiscence of paganism was, however, displayed on the magnificent triumphal arch of the Florentines on the Via Giulia. It bore the arms of the Medici, the balls, yoke, diamond and feathers, with allegorical and historical pictures and the figures of the sibyls and apostles. Even the Lateran Council was represented here, and a triumphal car with emperor and kings doing homage to the Pope. The inscription ran: "To the Pope Leo X., the ambassador of Heaven, his countrymen and fellow citizens do homage to the greatness of his name." Close by stood the Arch, which had been erected by John Zink, the President of the Mint, with allegorical figures of the sciences. The procession thus advanced from triumphal arch to triumphal arch, from altar to altar, through streets adorned with tapestries and flowers and densely crowded with people, through Parione, through the Pellicceria, in front of S. Marco, past the Forum and Colosseum, until after several hours it reached the Lateran. The guardianship of the Portico, opposite which the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius still stood, had been entrusted to John Jordan Orsini, Fabrizio Colonna, Prospero and Count Ludovico of Pitigliano.

Order remained undisturbed. Severe edicts had forbidden any one to carry arms. Leo took possession of the Lateran according to ancient ritual, even seating himself on the Sella Stercoraria.

The banquet over, the procession set forth on its return to S. Peter's. Darkness had fallen by the time that the Pope reached the Palazzo Massimi on the Campo di Fiori, and the illumination of the city began. Only in the arts of illumination and fireworks was the age of the Renascence behind our own. Leo dismissed the cardinals at the Bridge and himself spent the night with Petrucci in S. Angelo. So intoxicating had been the festivities of the day, that we can hardly blame him if in the midst of such homage he lost his mental balance. "When," said an eye-witness with irony, "I reflected on all the magnificence I had beheld, I was myself seized with the desire to become pope and was unable to sleep at night. I do not wonder that these prelates long so ardently for the Papacy."[1]

Fortunate beginning of Leo's reign.

Leo revelled in the consciousness of his good fortune, and the greatness and glory which he had acquired while still in his youth. He entered on his pontificate under the most favourable auspices. He had only been pope four days when the schismatic cardinals Carvajal and Sanseverino surrendered. Hastening to Rome with the French ambassador on the death of Julius II., they had learnt of Leo's election at Leghorn. He commanded them at first to remain in custody at Florence. He recalled

[1] Penni, *ut supra*.

Piero Soderini to Rome from his exile at Ragusa, and the Gonfaloniere came to be reconciled to the Medici. Pompeo Colonna, who had defiantly come to the city on the death of Julius II., was absolved by Leo from the censures which his predecessor had pronounced and was reinstated in his offices. The Pope determined to remove all hostility. The princes offered their congratulations; the homage of France alone was lacking. He possessed the art of making fitting replies to the ambassadors.[1] All were charmed by his urbanity. He exhorted kings to harmony and to fresh alliance against the enemy of Christendom. Peaceful enjoyment of the Papacy was his highest aim.

He found himself heir to the greatness of his predecessor, who had however also bequeathed him an overwhelming legacy of political passions, which his own hostile conduct had called forth. The work of carrying on the Lateran council and the war with the Gallican schism fell to the new pope. He inherited the recently re-founded State of the Church, to which he added Florence as a family possession. But all these possessions were insecure, as was his position in general towards the powers, although this was given him and not acquired. Immediately

[1] This was a difficulty to the majority of popes. Paris told Leo that Pius II., being an accomplished orator, had introduced the custom of making replies. Paul II. had kept it up, but only spoke in Italian, and always awkwardly. Sixtus IV. spoke well, Innocent VIII. invariably lost the thread of his speech, Alexander VI. frequently broke down, as, for instance, before the celebrated Jason Mainus. Even Julius II. showed the timidity of a school-boy, and often corrected his phrases two or three times.

after the death of Julius II. Cardona had occupied Parma and Piacenza for Milan, and the Duke of Ferrara had recovered some of his cities. Without difficulty Leo obtained their restitution through Duke Sforza, and at first he allowed the quarrel with Alfonso to remain in abeyance. But how was he to keep out of Italy the King of France, who thirsted for revenge?

From the time of Alexander VI. each pope in turn found himself exposed to the enmity of France and Spain, one of which could only be kept in check by the other, while the victory or defeat of either alike threatened Italy and Rome with servitude. This discord produced the papal policy of the sixteenth century; a system of tacking right and left, full of duplicity and treachery, allied with the unscrupulous predatory policy of the Borgia; its lever nepotism; its hypocritical shield—assumed when opportune—the liberty of Italy. The Mediceans on the papal chair were masters of this statecraft, which proved the ruin of Italy, because the national idea was entrusted to the popes.[1] Immediate war with France was unavoidable, for Lewis XII. burned with impatience to re-conquer Milan. Already on March 23, 1513, he had concluded the league of Blois with the Venetians, his former enemies, in which both parties promised not to lay aside their arms until the king had taken Lombardy, and the republic recovered possession of all that had belonged to her on the

League of Blois, March 1513.

[1] We have witnessed in our own days the last error of this kind made by the Italians.

mainland before the last war.[1] The condition of Milan encouraged Lewis's hopes; for here the Swiss ruled with tyrannical power. The unhappy land sighed under the burthen of the Spaniards and Confederates quartered upon it, and suffered under the weight of taxation imposed for the pay of this rude soldiery.[2] The Milanese hated the incapable and licentious Sforza; they even longed for the return of the French, who at least had maintained a strong rule; and the suffering city was riven asunder by factions.

Leo strove to prevent France and Venice from making war, and in memory of its former alliance with the Medici, endeavoured to draw the republic into his league. But France, which Julius had but recently overcome, he did not wish to invite again to Italy. He must remain faithful to the policy of his predecessor. In opposition to the treaty of Blois, the league of Mechlin between Henry VIII. of England and the Emperor was concluded on May 5. Spain and the Pope also joined it. The allies pledged themselves to protect the Church and Milan, and even to attack Lewis in France. With papal money Girolamo Morone, Sforza's astute chancellor, gained the adhesion of the confederates.

League of Mechlin, April 1513.

The war began in May, to continue with interruptions for endless years. The plain of Lombardy is the classic battlefield of history, on which from Roman times and throughout the Gothic period

[1] Paolo Paruta, i. 13. Dumont, iv. i. 182.

[2] *Nec matrum gemitus, nec infantum ululatus dura rusticorum corda in hospitiis emolliunt*: Petr. Martyr, xxv. ep. 494.

has taken place the conflict between the Latin and the German world, and where the fate of their races and kingdoms has been decided. The fairest plain of Europe is consecrated to the god of war; its ancient cities Milan and Verona have remained till our own days the lofty columns on this race-course, watered with the blood of rival nations. In the sixteenth century Milan more especially became the apple of discord of the European powers; the golden key, the possession of which seemed to unlock world-wide dominion, such as that which Sacred Rome had bestowed on the emperor in the dogmatic Middle Ages. On the fields of Lombardy was perfected the military system of Europe. There met and measured with one another the dreaded phalanxes of Swiss infantry, the French "hommes d'armes," the Spanish arcabuseros, the Italian cavalry and artillery, and the strong infantry of the landsknechts, in whom the inexhaustible strength of the German people first attained its national military organisation. At the same period that learning, the arts, navigation, and lastly ecclesiastical reform put forth a wondrous series of heroes of thought, did heroes of the sword, the leaders in this great conflict of nations, —Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Frenchmen — a mighty and heroic race—the magnificent offspring of European chivalry—acquire distinction on the plains of Lombardy.

The French under La Tremouille, the Venetians under Alviano, whom the King had released from his imprisonment, set themselves in motion against

Milan. The cities of the duchy immediately fell, and Genoa became French once more and elected Antoniotto Doria as Doge. Neither Prospero Colonna, the general of the Church, nor Cardona could have saved Milan, had not the Swiss remained faithful. At Novara, where Trivulzio boasted to the King that he would bring the son of Sforza a captive to the place where his father had formerly been taken prisoner, the bravery of the Confederates was seen for the last time in a decisive battle. On June 6, 1513, Trivulzio was so completely routed that he abandoned Piedmont in flight. He even led his army back to France, and a battle thus saved Massimiliano Sforza, inflicted a fresh humiliation on France and exposed Venice to the same ruin that had overtaken her in the time of Julius II. The Spaniards and the Imperialists fought the republic back to her lagoons. From the tower of Merghera the heroic Georg Frundsberg triumphantly surveyed the proud island city.[1]

Battle of Novara, June 6, 1513.

In the course of a few weeks the fortunate Leo beheld the plans of the French pitiably shattered. He celebrated the victory with brilliant festivals, but he was disquieted by the continuance of the war, for his most earnest wish was to be reconciled to Lewis XII. and to put an end to the schism. Already on June 27 Sanseverino and Carvajal, whom he had ordered to be brought to Rome, had begged for pardon in presence of an immense throng and

[1] On his tomb at Mindelheim was inscribed: *ad paludes venetas et turrim usque Mergeram victor accessit*: Barthold, *Georg v. Frundsberg*, p. 151.

received absolution. Leo saw these once powerful cardinals at his feet; one of them had intended to become pope in the place of Julius II., the other had taken Leo himself a prisoner at Ravenna.

Meanwhile Lewis XII. was reduced to sore straits in his own country by an invasion of the English. The Swiss laid siege to Dijon, and on August 16 the English and the Imperialists defeated the French army at Guinegate in the "Battle of the Spurs," when Picardy was lost to Lewis. These misfortunes forced the French monarch to make peace with the Pope. After tedious negotiations his envoy solemnly abjured the schism on December 17, 1513. And the first year of Leo's reign ended triumphantly.

Nepotism of Leo. X.

He now made approaches to France, and already conceived the thought of securing the dominion of his house in Florence by French alliances. The historic greatness of the Medici led him into nepotism, from which his predecessor had held almost entirely aloof. The Florentine state was henceforward drawn into the meshes of ecclesiastical policy; Leo wishing to make it a kind of younger son of the Medicean Papacy. The branch of the family descended from Cosimo, the head of which was Leo, at this time consisted of Leo's youngest brother Giuliano, his cousin Giulio, and his nephew Lorenzo, the son (aged twenty-one) of that Piero who had been drowned in the Liris and the ambitious and intriguing Alfonsina Orsini. As early as September 23 Leo had made Giulio Medici a cardinal; the stain of illegitimate birth he covered, as Alexander VI. had covered that of Caesar Borgia, by a disgraceful lie.

The Pope caused it to be certified that Giulio was the offspring of a lawful marriage between Giuliano and Floretta Antoni. On the same day he bestowed the purple on his tutor Bernardo Dovizi, also on two Florentines, Lorenzo Pucci and Innocenzo Cibò, the youthful son of his sister Maddalena. This act violated the articles of the Conclave and awoke hostility to the Pope; people began to regard him with doubt. While Giulio Medici immediately became the most influential man in the Curia and the chief minister of the Pope, Giuliano and Lorenzo rose to secular greatness. On September 13 (1513) Leo caused both to be created Roman patricians amid extravagant festivals on the Capitol.[1] Lorenzo had already been sent to Florence by the Pope, for to this nephew he intended to confide the government of the state. His own brother Giuliano, a man of thirty-four, of gentle and melancholy disposition and devoid of all desire for rule, he removed from Florence and brought to the Vatican. Leo contemplated making him a great prince in Central Italy; he hoped to obtain Parma and Piacenza for him through the Emperor, and had already turned his gaze to Ferrara and Urbino.[2] These intentions soon gave rise to disastrous complications, and prevented Leo from imparting to his

Giuliano and Lorenzo Medici.

[1] A coin was struck on which was represented Rome triumphant and the inscription: MAG. IVLIAN. MEDICES.

[2] As early as December 1, 1513, Pietro Lando wrote to the Doge that the Pope intended to bestow Parma, Piacenza and Reggio on Giuliano, and that the Emperor had promised to add Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, Cremona and Modena in return for 500,000 ducats. *Dispacci di Roma.* Archives of Venice.

policy the character of grandeur that people had expected.

While the war was continued in North Italy during the spring of 1514, an embassy arrived from Portugal that turned the Pope's eyes to distant spheres. At the same time that Europe forsook the grooves of her ancient political constitution, bold discoverers extended the sphere of European power. Columbus had died on May 25, 1506, but his deeds had inspired others to follow in his track. Under its King Emmanuel little Portugal acquired undying renown. In 1498 Vasco de Gama discovered the sea passage to India; in 1500 Cabral had touched the coast of Brazil; in 1509 Almeida and Albuquerque planted the Portuguese banner at Ormuzd, Goa, and even at Malacca. These new routes of commerce and new colonies were more deadly wounds to the republic of Venice than her wars on the Po and the lagoons.

The Portuguese embassy in Rome.

In May 1514 Emmanuel sent a solemn embassy to the Pope. It was headed by Tristan d'Acunha, himself one of the heroes of the discoveries, and by two celebrated doctors of law, Juan de Faria and Diego Pacheco. These gentlemen entered Rome with a magnificent retinue. They brought valuable presents from India to the Pope. Horses, which were intended for him, were ridden by Persians; a menagerie of wild beasts arrived, of which a tamed elephant excited the greatest astonishment, no elephant having been seen in Europe since the time of the Roman Empire. On May 25 the Portuguese envoys were received in public consis-

tory; this was an event in Rome. Pacheco delivered a Latin address full of sentimental bombast, which was extolled as a marvel of oratory. In the name of his King he laid India at the feet of the Pope, compared him in the midst of his cardinals to the sun among the stars, told him that he was now ruler from the Tiber to the Pole, that the Kings of Arabia and Saba would bring tribute, yea, that all princes and peoples to the Ultima Thule would bow the knee before him.[1] On June 7 Leo issued a document, by which he awarded to Portugal all lands from Cape Non to both the Indies. Emmanuel, like Ferdinand the Catholic, still acknowledged the Pope as the supreme earthly authority, to whom belonged the right of adjudicating the possession of the most distant parts of the earth; for, according to mediaeval ideas, such possession was necessarily bound up with the principle of the Church, in whose name these coasts had been conquered. This mystic but magnificent way of regarding such practical colonial relations was only shattered by the discovery in the German reformation of another conception of legal right.

[1] Pacheco's speech of homage in Roscoe, Leo X., ii., Appendix, n. 16. Also epigrams by poets on the same subject. Leo returned thanks for the presents on May 11: *Ep. Sadoleti*, v., iv., n. 20.

2. Leo X. makes Approaches to France, and at the same Time strives to Form a League Against It—Death of Lewis XII., January 1, 1515—Francis I., King of France—Giuliano Medici marries Filiberta of Savoy—Leo X. joins the League with Spain and the Emperor, July 17, 1515—Hostile Expedition of Francis I. into Italy — He Conquers Milan — His Victory at Marignano, September 14, 1515—Consternation of the Pope—Leo Journeys to Francis I.—Meeting in Bologna, December 1515—Resolutions Formed—Death of Giuliano Medici, March 1516.

The political world meanwhile presented an inextricable network of schemes, treaties, and family alliances between the powers. It was a new system; the origin of the modern politics of the Cabinet. Lewis XII. wished to betroth his four-year-old daughter Renée to the young archduke Charles, the future heir to Spain, but the Pope would not consent. His efforts must be directed to separating the powers of France and Spain, which had signed a truce at Blois on December 1, 1513. The project of Renée's betrothal failed; on the contrary, after having concluded peace in London on August 2, 1514, Lewis, who was now a widower, married Mary the young sister of Henry VIII. of England. The talented Ludovico Canossa, Bishop of Tricarico and nuncio of the Pope, had exerted himself in favour of this marriage, and Thomas Wolsey was the soul of the negotiations by which France,

England, and the Pope formed a league that must prove a serious menace to the Emperor and Spain.

Contrary to his secret inclination, Leo X. found himself drawn into an alliance with France. Lewis XII. enticed him by dazzling promises for his nephews, promising for Giuliano the hand of Filiberta, the daughter of Philip of Savoy and a near relation of the French royal house. The Pope seemed even disposed to listen to his proposal for the reconquest of Milan. He invariably stood holding in his hand the scales ready to weigh France and Spain against one another. At the same time that he held out hopes to Lewis XII. in Italy, he privately persuaded Spain, the Emperor, the Confederates, Florence, and Milan to form an alliance for the purpose of defending this duchy. He was himself prepared to join whichever league promised the greater advantage. He sent Bembo in December 1514 to Venice, which was still at war with Maximilian concerning Brescia and Verona, in order to induce the republic to abandon France. The Venetians declined to become reconciled to the Emperor, since he insisted on the possession of Verona: they represented to the Pope that a league with France would be more advantageous than an alliance with Maximilian, and that with the aid of France he might be able to acquire the crown of Naples for his brother Giuliano.[1]

At this juncture the old King, Lewis XII., died on January 1, 1515. He was a manly but un-

[1] Paruta, ii. 84.

fortunate prince, whose thirst for conquest was invariably punished by defeat. The crown of France fell to Francis I., the one-and-twenty years old son of Charles of Angoulême, and the husband of Claudia, daughter of Lewis XII. The brilliant prince, thirsting for fame, handsome of form and captivating all by his talents and chivalry, ascended the throne with the ardent longing to restore the power of France. He at once assumed the style of Duke of Milan, and, owing to the ambition of this youthful monarch, the world was soon embroiled in wars of which no one could foresee the end.[1] Their object was throughout the hegemony of Europe based on the possession of Italy. It was a momentous time. From the complications to which Charles VIII.'s expedition had given rise developed the entire system of the relation of the European powers, which endured until 1866 and 1870, until the time, in fact, when Italy obtained her freedom, and when the ecclesiastical state, founded by Julius II., was abolished.

Francis I. ascends the throne of France, Jan. 1, 1515.

Venice hastened to congratulate the new ruler of France and to invite him soon to appear in Italy. Francis I. renewed the league with the republic, as also the peace with Henry VIII. of England; he

[1] According to Belcarius, next to his virtues, thirst for glory and sensuality were the ruling passions of the king.—"The king's personal beauty is truly great. He is courageous, an excellent musician, and suitably educated for his age and station. Two such courts and kings as those of France and England, no Venetian ambassador has seen for fifty years." Nicolo Sagundino to Aloise Foscari, June 6, 1515. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of State Papers of Venice*, ii. 247.

induced the Arch-duke Charles to enter into a treaty; the Swiss, whom he wished to conciliate, declined his advances. When the din of his preparations resounded through the whole of France, the Emperor, Spain, the Swiss, Milan, Florence and Genoa in February 1515 united in a league, which owed its origin to the Pope. Leo did not formally join it, being engaged in negotiations with the very King against whom it was directed. He wavered all the more when in February, at the French Court, Giuliano Medici married Filiberta, a princess who was full sister to Louise, mother of King Francis.

Marriage of Giuliano Medici and Filiberta of Savoy, Feb. 1515.

Giuliano with his wife came to Rome, where the Pope established for him a princely court. The festivals of the reception with the dowry and bridal gifts cost the sum of 150,000 ducats. Leo resolved to make this beloved brother a great man. On June 17, 1514, he began bargaining with the impecunious Emperor for the imperial fief of Modena for 40,000 ducats.[1] Out of Modena, Reggio, Parma and Piacenza a principality was to be created for Giuliano.[2] Designs were meditated against Naples. If Francis I. abandoned this kingdom to Giuliano Medici, the Pope would acknowledge his claim to Milan; or so he allowed Canossa in confidence to tell the King. Francis sent the celebrated Budeus and other envoys to Rome, where Jerome Vich,

[1] Alfonso of Ferrara was disgracefully betrayed by Emperor and Pope. For in 1509 Maximilian had ratified him in possession of all his imperial fiefs, and on June 14, 1514, Leo had given him solemn absolution and restitution. Muratori, *Antich. Estensi*, ii. 317.

[2] Guicciardini, xii. 128.—*Lettere di Girolamo Morone* (Turin, 1863) to the Cardinal of Sitten, A.D. 1515.

the orator of Spain, and Alberto Pio of Carpi, the ambassador of the Emperor, strove to induce Leo to join their league. They succeeded, Francis I. finding the demands of the Pope too exacting. As heir of Anjou he decided in case of victory to keep Naples for himself, only to support Giuliano in his patrimonies and to give him an annual revenue; he insisted, moreover, that Parma and Piacenza should be regarded as part of the duchy of Milan.

Leo X. joins the league against France, July 1515.

Not until Leo found himself repulsed almost contemptuously by the King did he resolve (July 17, 1515) openly to join the league with Spain and the Emperor. This alliance harmonised with his inclinations, for not even the family connection with France had altered his original feelings. He now strove to induce England to go to war with France; and on this account made Henry VIII.'s favourite, Thomas Wolsey, a cardinal in September 1515.

The chief strength of the league now lay in the confederates, who, 30,000 strong, descended the Alps once more to defend Milan. The Spaniards were led by Cardona; Sforza's troops by Prospero Colonna; Giuliano Medici had been appointed by the Pope governor of Parma and Piacenza, Reggio and Modena, and generalissimo of the Church. But as he fell seriously ill in Florence, Lorenzo, the captain of the Florentines, assumed the supreme command of the papal army, and beside him stood Cardinal Giulio Medici as legate.

The Alpine passes were defended, and the entrance of the French consequently appeared impossible; but before the enemy had any suspicion of his

approach, Trivulzio led his army—which included the German Black Bands under Robert von der Marck—by the most difficult paths across the Cottian Alps to Saluzzo. Prospero, along with his best captains, Cesare Fieramosca, Pietro Margano, Brancaleone and the Count of Policastro, was suddenly attacked near Villafranca and taken prisoner.[1] This unexpected reverse reduced the Pope to such utter dismay, that already he foresaw Rome lost, and contemplated flight to Gaeta or Ischia.[2] He ordered Lorenzo Medici to remain at Piacenza, and his letters to the King of France, which were intercepted, constrained the suspicious Spaniards also to inactivity. He sent Cencio, his confidential agent, to the French camp with proposals; and it was solely owing to the admonitions of Cardinal Giulio that he was dissuaded from entering into a precipitate and disgraceful treaty. It was hoped that the formidable power of the Swiss, the victors at Novara, would shatter the French attack.

Confident and light-hearted, Francis I. left Turin, and unopposed pressed onwards until the Swiss interrupted his march at Marignano. Before the beginning of hostilities, however, Canossa forced his way to the young monarch with overtures of peace. "Time enough after the battle, which will decide all," said the King. And for two days—the 13th and

[1] Colonna was surprised while at table, and surrendered to Aubigny. *Mémoires du Martin du Bellay*, Paris, 1753, i. 64.

[2] This is evident from a letter of King Ferdinand to Jerome Vich, his ambassador in Rome; *Calendar of Letters, etc.*, vol. ii. Henry VIII., ed. Bergenroth, n. 221.



Battle of Marignano, Sept. 14, 1515.

14th September 1515 — the battle raged fiercely between the rival armies. Contemptuous of death, the Confederates exposed themselves to the artillery fire from the enemy's entrenchments. The Cardinal of Sitten in person encouraged their wild ferocity. Night parted the furious combatants. Resting on their weapons, the sturdy mountaineers impatiently awaited the dawn in order to renew the attack. On September 14 the French wavered; the King, mounted on his huge charger, galloping indefatigably to and fro, with difficulty held them together. When Alviano of Lodi appeared with the Venetian cavalry in the evening, the tremendous battle was decided in favour of the monarch.[1] Bayard gave him the accolade of knighthood on the field of battle. The remains of the Swiss infantry with their artillery retired in order to Milan. But the belief in their invincible power had been shattered at Marignano, and the political influence of the Confederates on the fate of Lombardy consequently passed away.[2]

[1] Alviano takes credit to himself for a share in the victory, since at the head of fifty gentlemen he charged a corps of Swiss. *Questa, seren. principe, e stata de le belle vittorie che da cesare in qua principe alcuno habbi vinto*: To the Doge *Ex castris feliciss. regiis et venetis ad marignanum*, 14 *Sept.* 1515, *hora* 2 *noctis*. (Mar. Sanuto, vol. xxi. fol. 57.) Letter thence from the Provveditore Dom. Contareni, fol. 68: and of King Francis of September 18. He thanks Alviano: his prowess had largely contributed to the victory.

[2] The *Vita anon. Leonis. X.* contains some vivid passages concerning this battle. The speech of the King to his officers is characteristic: the Swiss are only a multitude; the individuals nameless and inglorious; the French and their Italian allies are noble personalities.—The wounded were left to their fate or to some fortunate

All the cities of the duchy and Milan itself now yielded to the King, who was intoxicated with victory. Betrayed by his minister Morone, on October 5 Sforza surrendered the fortress of Milan to the Constable Charles of Bourbon, and even yielded himself up to the King, who sent him as his pensioner to France.[1] While Cardona now hastily withdrew from Piacenza to the Romagna, and the papal troops returned to Reggio, Alviano laid siege to Brescia. Here the celebrated general fell ill, and died at Castel Gaido on October 17. Teodoro Trivulzio was appointed general of the Venetians in his stead.[2]

Milan surrenders to King Francis.

Meanwhile the defeat of the Swiss, who had hitherto been held invincible, occasioned profound dismay at the Vatican. A messenger, prematurely despatched at the beginning of the battle by the Cardinal of Sitten with tidings of victory, first arrived, when the Swiss guards and Cardinal Bibiena ordered bonfires to be lighted. The following day Marino Zorzi, the Venetian ambassador, reached the palace with despatches from his Signory. He caused the Pope to be wakened, showed him the letters, and said: "Holy Father, yesterday you gave me bad and false news, to-day I bring you true and good: the Swiss are defeated." The Pope read the despatches and

chance: *graviter sauci miserabiles voces emittere, eniti, exurgere conari, rursusque prolabi atque concidere, moxque animam efflare; nonnulli amicorum ope sublevari, atque ad curandum duci, postremo spoliari atque omnia diripi.* We are now further advanced in the duties of humanity.

[1] Bellay, i. 80 *sq.*

[2] Paruta, iii. 134. Tarcognota—Mambrino Roseo, i. 43.

exclaimed: "What will happen to me and you now?" "It will be well with us," answered the ambassador, "for we are with the King, and no harm will happen to your Holiness." "Signor ambassador," said the Pope, "we shall see what the most Christian King will do; we shall surrender ourselves into his hands and implore mercy."[1] Leo quickly grasped the direction his policy had now to take. There was no longer any prospect of a change of fortune, as after the battle of Ravenna. If the King followed up his victory, there was nothing now to hinder him from crossing the Po, marching through Tuscany to Rome, and even Naples. He could occupy Parma and Piacenza, again drive the Medici from Florence and bring the Bentivogli back to Bologna.

Leo. X. holds negotiations with the King.

Owing to the intervention of Charles III. of Savoy, Leo hastened to conclude the negotiations which Canossa had begun, and this distinguished man entreated the King to renounce the onward march, which Alviano had so urgently advised. Francis I. saw himself called on to perform deeds such as Gaston would have performed after the battle of Ravenna; a greater opportunity than Caesar's beckoned him to cross the Rubicon, and to subjugate much-disputed Italy to his sceptre. So desperate was the condition of the country, that a Florentine statesman bemoaned the fate which prevented Italy from falling into the power of so great a prince,

[1] Report of Marino Zorzi, March 17, 1517, in Gar-Albéri, p. 44. The Swiss guard were furious; the Ambassador and his secretary dared not show themselves for two days.

under whose protection she might have recovered from her ills.[1] The King, however, feared the alliance between England and the emperor, the return of the Confederates and the duplicity of the Pope. He had already promised Canossa to meet Leo in Bologna, where the treaty with the Church was to be concluded. On October 13 an alliance between Francis I., the Pope and the republic of Florence was drawn up at Viterbo, by which the King pledged himself to protect the Medici, and the Pope to uphold him in the possession of Milan. Lorenzo Medici brought this treaty to the King in Milan.[2]

Alliance between Leo and Francis I.

Several cardinals, especially Adrian of Corneto, an adherent of the Emperor, considered Leo's journey to Bologna disgraceful, and many others judged likewise.[3] The Pope would not allow himself to be dissuaded; he was more astute than his advisers. As Leo. I. had stopped Attila on the Mincio, he determined to check the advance of Francis I. and to entangle him in the meshes of a treaty. He left Rome in October, while Soderini remained behind as his vicar. All the cardinals were to join him at Viterbo.[4] He was met here by Bonnivet, the

[1] F. Vettori (*Sommario*, p. 313), at this time sent by the Florentines, with Filippo Strozzi as orator to the King in Milan.

[2] Dumont, iv. i. 214. A special clause provided that Lorenzo should obtain a French princess in marriage.

[3] *Quod prima facie indecus publice videbatur, ut Papa illi quodammodo obviaret*: Paris de Grassis, iv. 83. *Non sine solii pontificii indignitate*: Carpesanus, vii. 7. *Con vergogna della sede*, says Marino Zorzi.

[4] Brief, Corneto, October 21, 1515; Fabroni, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 93.

King's envoy, and after a conference with fourteen cardinals, the journey was continued, to greet a royal youth, who, had he possessed the courage, might have dictated laws to the Pope.

Leo. X.'s journey to Bologna.

Leo intended to go to Florence by Siena, but since the latter city represented to him that so numerous a cortège would suffer from the dearth of necessaries, he renounced the idea. Siena was indeed gravely disturbed; the young and vicious son of Pandolfo Petrucci, head of the state, found himself reduced to extremities by the opposite party, which was secretly supported by the Pope. Leo went to Cortona, where he met with a magnificent reception from Giulio Passerini, and where the envoys of Florence came to greet him. He then proceeded to Arezzo. The train of prelates resembled an army, but it was not inspired by the courage of that company which Julius II. had formerly led to Bologna. Leo lingered a few days at Marignolle outside the gates of Florence at the villa of the Gianfigliazzi,

His entry into Florence.

then made his magnificent entry into the city of his ancestors on November 30. Florence already showed itself enslaved to the Medici; it received the Pope with extravagant acts of homage. His progress to S. Maria Novella, where he made his abode, was almost a repetition of the solemnity of the Possesso of the Lateran. Magnificent triumphal arches had been erected; and the temporary façade of the Duomo, a work of Jacopo Sansovino and his assistant Andrea del Sarto, excited great admiration.[1] The Pope

[1] Vasari in the *Life of Jacopo Sansovino.* Paris de Grassis arranged the entry and has described all the details.

prayed by the grave of his father in S. Lorenzo, recalling with tears the time when the author of his greatness had procured him the cardinal's purple. When after the sumptuous festivals of his native city, he reached Bologna on December 8, he found nothing but gloomy faces and even heard the shout of the Bentivogli: "Serra! Serra!"[1] On the 11th the King arrived with a brilliant suite and numerous cavalry. At the Porta S. Felice he was received by twenty cardinals, hat in hand. Riario spoke, thanking him for having deigned to come in person; he recommended to him the welfare of the Sacred Chair and offered the services of his Holiness. The King answered with condescension, with bared head and in the French tongue. He was conducted to the rooms of the palace allotted to his use, and thence went immediately to the Pope. He kissed his foot; the Pope rose and embraced him. In public consistory the King tendered obedience through his chancellor, who knelt while he himself remained standing with his head covered. Du Prat was no less familiar with the courtier's art than the Portuguese Pacheco. After having recovered from the sight of Leo's "dazzling splendour," he extolled the immortal services which the Medici had rendered to culture; then the magnificence and greatness of the Pope and also the Catholic zeal of the King, who had worked his way over

Meeting between the King and the Pope in Bologna, Dec. 1515.

[1] Fabroni, p. 95.—Despatch of Marino Zorzi to the Doge, Bolog., December 9 (M. Sanuto, vol. xxi. fol. 213). He accompanied the Pope as orator and gave a circumstantial report of his journey. (*Ibid.*)

mountains, abysses, woods, rivers and streams of fire and through the closely serried legions of the Swiss, in profoundest humility to do reverence to the Holy Father, the "Divine Man." He now laid all his power, his wealth, armies and fleets, his kingdom and himself at the feet of his Holiness.[1]

For three days King and Pope dwelt together in friendliest intercourse in the same palace in Bologna, while Leo's amiable manners inspired all the French with enthusiasm, but failed to conciliate the sullen Bolognese. The King here coveted a costly gift, no less than the group of the Laocoon. Leo would probably more readily have given him the head of an Apostle than this treasure; but, according to his wont, he promised to grant Francis's request, intending later on to put him off with a copy, which he ordered from Baccio Bandinelli.[2] The treaty of Viterbo was now con-

[1] Speech of obedience, 3. *Id. Dec.* 1515, Roscoe, App. n. 32. Our time, which happily has arrived at some sense of truth in affairs of state, can scarcely understand the shocking rhetoric of lies of that period, and this rhetoric was a product of the intercourse with the Roman Curia.—On December 11 the Pope wrote to the Queen-mother, delighted at the attitude of the King: *Bembi Epistolar. Leonis X. nomine, scriptar.*, Opp. iv. xi.—Du Bellay, *Mém.*, i. 12.—*Entrevue du roi François I. et du pape Léon X. à Bologne*, in Le Glay, *Négociations Diplom.*, ii. 85.

[2] *Il Papa gliela promise: ma per non privare il Belvedere deliberò di farne fare una copia per dargliela, e già sono fatti li putti, che sono li in una camera; ma il maestro se anche vivesse* 500 *anni, e ne avesse fatti cento, non potria mai far cosa eguale.* Thus wrote a Venetian orator in 1523; Albéri, p. 114. Bandinelli's group was finished under Clement XII., who had it taken to the Palazzo Medici in Florence. It now stands in the Uffizii.

cluded; the Pope renounced the league with the Emperor and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the King. He made over to him Parma and Piacenza; and promised to restore Reggio and Modena to Alfonso of Este in two months for an equivalent in money, Alfonso having astutely placed himself under the protection of the King. On the other hand Francis took the State of the Church and the Medici under his wing and promised Leo's nephews revenues and dignities in France. He strove to protect the Duke of Urbino, at whose territories the Pope already aimed, but since Leo declined every engagement to spare him, the King abandoned his protégé. The Swiss were not taken into account, Francis having already concluded a peace with them at Geneva in September, by virtue of which the Confederates became his paid allies. With regard to Naples, Leo ambiguously pointed to the approaching death of Ferdinand as a favourable opportunity for an enterprise on the part of the King. Finally it was agreed to transform the Pragmatic Sanction—that important charter of autonomy of the French Church—into a concordat, by the terms of which the King was to appoint bishops and the Pope to receive the revenues for the first year of the benefices that fell vacant. And thus through the servility of du Prat and the cunning of the Pope the liberty of the Gallican Church was made an object of disgraceful traffic, and Leo X. obtained a victory that Julius II. would have envied.[1]

Treaty of Bologna.

Ecclesiastical concordat with France.

[1] *Mais les bons Français s'y opposèrent puissament, comme à la*

It was, however, the last spiritual triumph of the Papacy: only a year afterwards the mighty Luther appeared. The treaty of Leo with France aroused the furious indignation of the King of Spain. "It appears," he wrote to his ambassador in Rome, "that his Holiness has hitherto played a double game, and that all his zeal to drive the French from Italy has been only a mask."[1]

Well content, Francis I. left Bologna on December 15 to return to Milan. He here appointed Bourbon as viceroy, and then, crowned with honour, returned to France in the beginning of 1516. On December 22, however, the Pope made his entry into Florence, where his brother Giuliano lay seriously ill, and here celebrated Christmas and the Carnival. On February 19 he departed for Rome. The Congress at Bologna had been a diplomatic contrivance on the part of Leo, but was at bottom as useless to Italy as it was to the political position of the Papacy. Two self-seeking men had merely come to an understanding, each with regard to his own advantage, and the profit on the King's side was greater than on the Pope's. Not only had Leo lost Parma and Piacenza, not only was he precluded from the possession of Modena and Reggio, but the greatest work of Julius II., the expulsion of the French from Italy, was pitiably destroyed. Leo hated the dominion of France more than that of the impecunious Emperor. He therefore continued

Return of Leo. X. to Rome, Feb. 1516.

manifeste ruine de l'Eglise Gallicane, et à la pépinière des simonies et confidences: Mezeray, ii. 391.

[1] *Calendar of Letters*, vol. ii., Henry VIII. (ed. Bergenroth), n. 240.

his efforts to achieve a reconciliation between the Venetians and Maximilian. But the republic continued the war and laid siege to Brescia, where the German landsknechts and the Spaniards bravely defended themselves, while Marcantonio Colonna held Verona.

All the powers were now suspicious of the Pope. In truth Leo, who in the beginning of his reign only desired peace, found himself treading in the footsteps of Alexander VI. His brother Giuliano stood in the same position towards France in which Caesar Borgia had formerly stood. He was married to a wife related to the French court; he held the title of Duke of Nemours and was in receipt of French pay. To Leo's profound sorrow he died on March 17, 1516, in Florence, only thirty-seven years of age, leaving no issue beyond a bastard son, Ippolito.[1] The princely castles in the air which Leo had built for him fell to pieces. Giuliano, sensual and extravagant, was nevertheless perhaps the best of all the Medici of the period, but in the midst of the radiant splendour of Leo X.'s court moved a dark and shadow-like figure. Rumours were afloat of poison administered by the envious Lorenzo, who, with or without grounds, was held

Death of Giuliano Medici, March 17, 1516.

[1] The Master of the Ceremonies, Paris, found every sign of grief unsuitable in the Pope. We read his reasons, therefore, with a smile: *quia ipse jam non ut homo erat apud nos, sed ut semideus, et se non debere in aliquo moestum aut luctuosum ostendere*: iv. 139. This demigod, however, suffered so much from a *fistula in natibus cum orificiis quinque*, that in August 1516 he spoke of nothing but his approaching death: *quod cum fletu crebro testabatur*. When a monk of Bologna prophesied his death, Leo had him tortured: iv. 154.

capable of a crime after the manner of the Borgia.[1] The entire love of the Pope was now centred on Lorenzo; he was made Standard-bearer of the Church and was soon to rise to a still more exalted post.

3. Death of Ferdinand the Catholic, January 15, 1516—His Heir and Grandson Charles—Unfortunate War of Maximilian with Venice—Leo X. ousts the Duke of Urbino and gives the Duchy to Lorenzo Medici — Peace of Noyon, December 1516 — Maximilian cedes Verona to Venice — The Duke of Urbino recovers his Territories—Disgraceful War waged by the Pope against Him—Conspiracy of the Cardinals Petrucci and Sauli—They, Riario, Soderini and Adrian of Corneto are brought to Trial — Wholesale creation of Cardinals, June 1517 — End of War with Urbino.

Death of Ferdinand the Catholic, Jan. 15, 1516.

Ferdinand the Catholic breathed his last on January 15, 1516, and his death was an event of great importance in the world's history. This King, who for more than twenty years had been one of the most influential characters in European politics, had expelled the Moors, and raised Spain into a monarchy of the first rank; the discovery of America, the conquest of Naples and Navarre had lent power and splendour to his crown, but

[1] *Lorenzo è astuto e atto a far cose, non come il Valentino, ma poco manco.* Report of Marino Zorzi, March 17, 1517. On the other hand F. Vettori depicts this Medici (his friend) in roseate colours.

the fatal Inquisition and a gloomy sacerdotalism had sown the seeds of the ruin of the Spanish nation. His most strenuous efforts had been directed to break the formidable power of France and to drive the French from Italy. From long experience he knew that the French always strove to disturb the peace of the world; that they intended to conquer and subjugate as many countries as possible; that they cherished an instinctive hatred of Spain and contemplated making themselves masters first of Italy and then of the world.[1] The alliance of his house with that of Habsburg was of European importance. For his grandson Charles of Flanders inherited the united Spanish monarchy. The sixteen years old Charles I. saw himself the ruler of a territory such as was owned by no other monarch, and this at a time when a young King, covetous of glory, was already Lord of Milan and had ascended the throne of France, and when the already aged Emperor neared the close of life. If Maximilian were able to secure to his grandson the succession to the Empire also, then under Charles's sceptre must arise a power which would be able to prescribe laws to Europe.

His heir Charles I.

As to Francis I., it behoved him to preserve the position of France and to hold fast to Genoa, Milan and the French portion of Burgundy. The change of the throne in Spain also afforded him an oppor-

[1] This is said in a memorandum treating of the last acts and intentions of Ferdinand, *Calendar of Letters*, vol. ii., Henry VIII. (ed. Bergenroth), n. 245.

tunity for the enterprise against Naples suggested to him by the Pope, since for the moment Charles I. could not adequately defend the country, finding, as he did, serious difficulties in the government of Spain. Francis, however, was obliged to renounce the design, since precisely at this time Maximilian, secretly supported by England, prosecuted in person the war against Venice. This was not unwelcome to the Pope. The Venetians suspected that he had an understanding with Maximilian, and drew Leo's attention to the Emperor's desire for universal supremacy, and to the fact that these words were always on his lips: "to him belonged the Dominium Temporale, and he had been elected to recover it."[1]

Unsuccessful war waged by Maximilian against Venice, 1516.

In the spring of 1516 the united French and Venetians fought, at first unsuccessfully, against Maximilian, who had already almost conquered Milan; the Constable of Bourbon, however, was enabled to save the city.[2] The efforts of the Emperor were frustrated by ineptitude; on May 20, after a brilliant defence, Brescia surrendered to Marshal Lautrec and the Venetians, when siege was laid to Verona. At night and in a fog Maximilian had already quitted the camp, with a few hundred horse, to return home. He was publicly jeered at both in Milan and Venice; he was cari-

[1] Rawdon Brown, *Calendar — of Venice*, ii. n. 647, 703.

[2] *C'est ainsi que la bonne conduite du Connetable de Bourbon conserva le Milanès à la France*: Martin du Bellay, i. 98. Bourbon then went to France, where he was badly rewarded: his post was given to Marshal Lautrec.

catured riding on a crab, with the words "*tendimus in Latium.*"

Leo profited by the occasion to pursue the most unscrupulous enterprises. He not only deceived Alfonso, to whom he failed to restore the cities promised him in the treaty of Bologna; he also effected the fall of the Duke of Urbino, in order to place his nephew in possession of his estates, and thus compensate himself for the prospect which he had lost of Parma and Piacenza. Lorenzo, who ruled over Florence, although energetic and warlike, was perhaps less inclined for this robbery than his mother Alfonsina and the eager Pope. Leo, reviving the ideas of the Borgia, determined to make this nephew ruler of Central Italy. He denounced Francesco Maria as guilty of high treason, because he had refused him feudal service in the last war; the honour of the Pope demanded his punishment, unless he (Leo) was to become an object of derision to every petty lord and vassal. When dying, the noble Giuliano had besought his brother not to attempt anything prejudicial to the house of Urbino, to which he had been so deeply indebted during the exile of the Medici. But now that Giuliano's opposition was no longer to be feared, Leo resolved on the ruthless expulsion of Rovere, the benefactor of his house, and his conduct in this matter, entirely after the model of Alexander VI., is a stain upon his life. Trivial or insufficient pretexts were assigned; the disobedience of the Duke in the Lombard war, and even the murder of Alidosi, although Leo himself when

Leo X. despoils the Duke of Urbino of his territories.

Cardinal had signed the absolution pronounced by Julius II. He invited the Duke to Rome; Rovere sent thither his adoptive mother, the widow of Guidobaldo, who had formerly received Lorenzo as a little child in her protecting arms. At the feet of the Pope the noble Elisabetta implored justice, but was obliged disconsolately to take her departure.[1]

Leo excommunicated and proscribed the Duke. To Rovere's misfortune, Maximilian, who alone was capable of protecting him, had left Italy, while Francis I., unwilling to embroil himself with the Pope, offered his aid and ordered Thomas de Foix to march with troops against Urbino. The papal forces were led by Camillo Orsini, Renzo of Ceri and Vitello Vitelli. Among them also served Giovanni Medici, the youthful son of that Catarina Sforza Riario, whom Caesar Borgia had formerly driven from her territories; and in this unrighteous war, the soon afterwards celebrated leader first acquired renown.[2] Incapable of resistance, Francesco Maria resolved on a treaty. He sent his wife Eleanora Gonzaga, his son Guidobaldo and the Duchess Elisabetta to Mantua to his father-in-law

[1] Ugolini, *Storia de' Duchi d'Urbino*, ii. 199: *qui il malefizio del Medici* (Leo X.) *superò quello del Borgia; perchè il Borgia non era legato coi signori di Urbino da tanti benefizi.*

[2] His father was Giovanni di Pierfrancesco Medici, second husband of Catarina, who died on May 28, 1509. He himself was born at Forli on April 6, 1498. *Vita di Giov. de' Medici Capitano delle bande nere da Giangirolamo Rossi* in *Vite d'Homini d'arme d'affari del sec. XVI.*, ed. Flor. 1867; Constantini Mini, *La Vita e le gesta di Giov. de' Medici o Storia delle bande nere*, Fir., 1851.

the Marchese Francesco, and followed himself. Pesaro, Sinigaglia and all the other cities made submission to Lorenzo Medici, whom the Pope created Duke of Urbino on August 18, 1516, and also made Prefect of the city. With disgraceful servility the cardinals ratified the deed; Domenico Grimani, Bishop of Urbino, alone refused his signature. He left Rome and never returned during Leo's lifetime.[1] At the instance of the Pope, the Viceroy Cardona even took Sora and other Neapolitan fiefs of the unfortunate Rovere and bestowed them on Guillaume of Croy.

Lorenzo Medici created Duke of Urbino, Aug. 8, 1516.

It was only with reluctance that Francis I. had lent the Pope his aid in the robbery, knowing, as he did, that Leo was meanwhile carrying on negotiations with Spain and the Emperor for the purpose of ousting him from Milan at a favourable opportunity. Italy however now seemed to be tranquillised, for in December 1516 peace was at length concluded at Noyon between Maximilian, Charles and Francis. Maximilian, deserted by the Swiss (who had signed a mercenary treaty of lasting peace with France at Freiburg on November 29, 1516), renounced Verona. A feeling of shame withheld the Emperor from surrendering at first hand to the Venetians the splendid city, which had hitherto been defended with heroic courage by Marcantonio Colonna, Georg

[1] Bull in Raynald ad A. 1516, n. 83. On January 17, 1517, Francesco Maria addressed a protest to the Cardinals: Dennistoun, ii. 358. On August 1 Cardinal Sanseverino died. With a revenue of 26,000 ducats, he left debts amounting to 27,000. He was buried in Aracoeli.

Frundsberg and Marx Sittich of Ems, nor would the handsome and noble hero Marcantonio be a witness to such an act of disgrace. On January 23, 1517, an imperial plenipotentiary handed over the keys to Marshal Lautrec, and Lautrec in his turn gave Verona to the Proveditore Andrea Gritti. Who could then have foreseen that Venice herself would ever be made over in the same way by an Austrian Emperor to a sovereign of France, in order to be transferred to the King of Italy? Owing to the genius of the military architect San Micheli, Verona now received the first foundations of her bastions, through which she afterwards became one of the strongest fortresses in the world. The progressive ideas of time however overthrow even the walls of giants, as the history of the Lombard Quadrilateral has shown in our own days.[1] The republic of Venice issued not ingloriously from a tedious war, since, with the exception of Cremona and the Romagna, she retained her possessions on the mainland.[2]

Verona surrendered to the Venetians, Jan. 23, 1517.

The eight years' war, to which the league of Cambray had given rise, was now ended, and Italy might hope to enjoy more peaceful times. But the profound unrest in the political world, the constantly increasing antagonism between France and the Spanish house of Habsburg, and lastly the principle

[1] San Micheli began the new bastions of Verona after 1523: see "Georg von Frundsberg"—by the author of the essay: "Bonaparte in Italien, 1796": *Oesterreichische Revue*, Jahrgang ii., 1864, p. 123.

[2] Paruta, end of lib. iii., here breaks into enthusiastic praises of the constitution of Venice, which made such successes possible.

of the ecclesiastical state, which for ever prevented the Pope from becoming the peace-maker of Europe, condemned the unhappy country to prolonged suffering. Jealousy and distrust ruled exclusively among the powers. England, Spain, France, the Emperor, the Pope and Venice sought a solid footing in the midst of the convulsions of all European relations; hence the chaos of intrigues and alliances, of marriage projects and counter-alliances. In October 1516 Leo, Maximilian, Charles and Henry VIII. once more formed a league for the defence of the Church.[1] At Cambray, and as early as the spring of 1517, the diplomatic agents of Maximilian, Spain and France drew up secret articles amounting to a partition of Italy between the great powers, such as Francis I. had proposed.[2]

But scarcely was the Venetian war ended when Central Italy was again aflame; the very peace itself had engendered a fresh war. The Duke of Urbino, threatened even in his exile at Mantua with murder and interdict by the Medici, suddenly arose, as he said, in desperation, to recover his estates, leaving the issue to God.[3] He was encouraged in his project by some cardinals who hated the Pope. All the powers were distrustful of Leo; he had stirred up a revolution in Siena, which filled the Emperor with suspicion. It was believed that he would make his nephew Duke

[1] In London, October 19, 1516: Dumont, iv. i. 240.

[2] Bucholtz, ii. 500. Lanz, *Actenstücke und Briefe zur Gesch. Carl's V.*, ii. i. p. 37.

[3] Letter to the Cardinals, in Roscoe, Appendix, n. 36.

of the Romagna, in order by degrees to become master of Italy and drive out the French.[1] Francis I. accused him of having instigated Maximilian's last invasion; Marshal Lautrec had made friends with the Duke, and in secret did more than express his good wishes. Rovere took into his pay 5000 Spanish and German soldiers, whom the peace had deprived of bread. With these veterans, who were led by Monaldo, the brave Gonzaga and Federigo da Bozzolo, he boldly crossed the Po into the Romagna in February 1517. Urbino and several of the cities at once joyfully declared in favour of their rightful lord.

Fresh war concerning Urbino, 1517.

Every upright man must have rejoiced in the discomfiture of the rapacious Pope! He had taken everything into consideration but this. He suspected that Charles, Francis I. and Venice were meddling. He considered himself betrayed and insulted; the Venetian ambassador saw him trembling with rage because an insignificant duke had ventured to defy him in such a manner.[2] Money he had none; "for it would have been more possible for a stone to fly into the air by itself than for this Pope to keep together 1000 ducats."[3] He hurriedly raised troops under Renzo da Ceri, Vitelli and Guido

[1] Of this the Venetian orator in Rome had been assured by the French envoys, so he reports on November 16, 1516: *di che loro si risentono assai dicendo a pocho il papa si fara signor d'Italia e nui convegniremo pasar i monti*: M. Sanuto, vol. xx. fol. 133.

[2] *E li pareva gran vergogna della Chiesa, che ad un duchetto basti l'animo di fare queste novità; e il papa tremava, ed era quasi fuor di se.* Report of Marino Zorzi, *ut supra*, p. 47.

[3] Francesco Vettori, p. 322.

Rangone in order to occupy the Romagna, where all were ready to abjure the hated priestly government. When the Pope sent 2000 men to Ravenna the Venetian ambassador ironically asked, "Holy Father, what doubts do you entertain concerning Ravenna? the Signory will not deprive you of this city; they hope on the contrary that your Holiness or some other Pope will give Ravenna to them, on account of their services." Ravenna, however, was in such ill-humour that the envoys of the city roundly told Giulio Medici, Cardinal-legate of the Romagna, that since Venice would risk nothing, they would joyfully surrender themselves to the Turks, if the Turks only came to Ragusa.[1]

Shameful position of the Pope in this war.

On the advice of the avaricious prelate Armellino, taxes for the war were levied in the provinces. The Pope raised money in Rome at 40 per cent. The Florentine bankers, the Gaddi, Leni, Bini, Salviati, Ridolfi, and Agostino Chigi lent vast sums. Leo plunged the Camera deep in debt for the sake of Urbino.[2]

Rovere advanced far into Umbria and courageously fought for months with the papal troops and against the legates Medici and Bibiena. The army of the Church was, as almost always, the refuse of nations, predatory and undisciplined; the leaders, disunited and treacherous, covered themselves with

[1] Report of Marino Zorzi, p. 55.

[2] Marino Zorzi estimated Leo's revenues at 420,000 ducats; river-dues, 60,000; land dues, 32,000; wine-vinegar, 8000; Spoleto, the March and the Romagna, 60,000 each; alum, 40,000; salt from Cervia and income from Ravenna, 70–100,000 ducats. In addition annates, benefices, etc.

disgrace. Lorenzo Medici himself was so seriously wounded at Mandolfo that he was forced to remain three months at Ancona.

Leo's finances and prestige were utterly ruined during this disgraceful war; in the very Vatican itself he was menaced by a conspiracy among the cardinals. This event, a terrible reminiscence of the Borgia times, made an indescribable sensation in the world, for it disclosed the depth of corruption of the "Sacred" College itself. This centre of the collective affairs of the Papacy reflected all the prevailing tendencies of the time. Although the majority of its members remained Italian, it nevertheless bore a European character; in it sat the representatives and instruments of the smaller and greater courts, and even members of princely houses. France, Spain, England, the Emperor, the States of Italy, even the Swiss demanded and received cardinals' hats for their creatures or ministers. Such national cardinals stood in correspondence with the ambassadors of the princes, whose subjects they themselves had been and from whom they drew pensions. It is unnecessary to mention the wealth that they possessed owing to the accumulation of benefices throughout the whole of Europe; this they owed more frequently to the favour of princes than to the Pope. These papal peers, "the Roman Senators," had their own policy, which was often at variance with that of the Vatican. The bitterest enemies of the Pope sat in his immediate neighbourhood, in Consistory. Independent secular princes, so to speak, they dwelt in their palaces, surrounded by

The Cardinals' College.

their own courts, and had here their cabinets, their secretaries and ministers, and their diplomatic correspondence with foreign states. The whole institution of cardinals was not based on an ecclesiastical footing; it had arisen as an innovation in the Church, and had acquired an entirely political importance. It was the material body of the Roman temporal policy; its construction—the most arbitrary that could be conceived—was a constant abuse of the papal power. The creation of cardinals had long been a financial transaction on the part of the Pope. We have seen how, already even in the fifteenth century, this ecclesiastical-political elective aristocracy set itself in opposition to the papal monarchy, although it was almost always defeated. Under Alexander VI. the Sacred College had become as servile as the Roman Senate under Tiberius; Julius II. witnessed the defection of some cardinals, but these made submission to his successor.

Now Leo still had enemies among the older cardinals. Many were adherents of Rovere, the nephew of Julius II. Many censured the nepotism of the Pope, his high-handed dealings and his policy. True that up to April 1, 1517, he had only created eight cardinals, but among these were some to whom he gave absolute power, such as Giulio Medici, Lorenzo Pucci and Bibiena. Medici was his minister of state, and with his talented secretary Giammatteo Giberti apparently ruled the State of the Church, while Leo spent incalculable sums on the theatre, the chase and on art.[1] The conspiracy

[1] *Pontifex enim Romae agere, otio ac voluptatib. perfrui, pecunias*

that arose during the war concerning Urbino was, however, due to personal causes. After Rome had experienced the Renascence in almost every form, it lacked indeed only this, that in the midst of his Senate or at the feet of some lately excavated statue of antiquity a Pope should be murdered like Caesar.

Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci

The Brutus in the cardinal's purple was the young and prodigal Alfonso Petrucci, son of the tyrant Pandolfo in Siena. His father had exerted himself to procure the restoration of the Medici in Florence; he himself had played a considerable part in Leo's election, and he now saw his services rewarded with ingratitude; for in the beginning of 1516 the Pope, returning from Bologna, had caused Alfonso's brother Borghese (who, on the death of Pandolfo in 1512, had succeeded to the government of Siena) to be banished by means of a revolution, and a cousin of the family, his own friend, the intriguing and rough Rafael Petrucci, Bishop of Grosseto and Provost of St. Angelo, to be appointed in Borghese's place.[1]

The young cardinal, whose brother had fled to Naples, while he himself returned from the neigh-

supra quam cuiquam credibile est, profundere—nihil ipse decernere, omnia ad patruelem referre per Johem Mathaeum grattissimum utrique adolescentem: Vita Anon. Leonis X.

[1] Pandolfo's surviving children were: Borghese (by Amelia Borghesi), Alfonso (Cardinal), and Fabio. His daughter Sulpizia had married Gismondo Chigi; Francesca, Orazio Baglione. His father-in-law Borghese had been murdered by his orders. G. A. Pecci, *Memorie di Siena che servono alla vita civile di Pandolfo Petrucci*, Siena, 1755.

bourhood of Siena to Rome, robbed of his property and deeply injured, contemplated revenge. Several times he attended Consistory with a dagger hidden in his sleeve; he carried his thoughts of murder even to the chase; but the necessary courage or the fitting opportunity had hitherto failed him. His angry discourses found eager listeners among those cardinals who would gladly have seen some evil befall the Pope. Soderini could not forgive Leo for having driven his brother Piero from Florence, although Leo had given the fugitive a friendly invitation to Rome, where the Gonfaloniere might have spent the rest of his days in honourable leisure.[1] Riario perhaps could not brook his defeat in the Conclave, and was deeply incensed at the Pope's conduct towards his relation the Duke of Urbino. Leo had refused the Archbishopric of Marseilles to the young Genoese Bandinelli de Saulis, to whom a fortune-teller had prophesied that he would succeed to the Papacy. A curious light is thrown on the mysteries of the Vatican at this time, by the fact that women soothsayers, probably Jewish sibyls, played a part in this crime. For a prophetess had also told Adrian of Corneto that Leo X. would die young, and that after him an aged man of obscure birth called Adrian would become Pope.[2] This cardinal, a devout man,

meditates the murder of the Pope.

Other cardinals, enemies of the Pope.

[1] He died on June 14, 1522, and was buried in S. M. del Popolo, as was his brother the Cardinal, who died in 1524. Soderini lived on Monte Citorio, highly honoured by the Pope: Nardi, *Hist.*, vi. 162. Even now the Vicolo Soderini takes its name from the house of this family (Rione IV. Campo Marzo).

[2] As actually happened. Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 71.

who opposed the authority of the Bible to the doctrines of Humanism, had long dwelt in Tyrol, and was probably the Emperor's candidate for the Sacred Chair. He also gave ear to Petrucci's speeches, without, however, committing himself further.

Petrucci, admonished by the Pope to abandon his intrigues for the recovery of Siena, finally betook himself to the Colonna in the neighbourhood of Rome, and here formed the plan of poisoning Leo; a celebrated surgeon, Battista of Vercelli, was to go to the city, and, under pretext of curing the Pope of his fistula, was to administer poison.[1] Letters of Petrucci to his secretary Nino were intercepted; the cardinal allowed himself to be enticed to Rome by the Pope, who adduced as reason his desire of adjusting his affairs in Siena. He came from Marino with a safe-conduct from Leo; and Leo also gave assurance of his safety to the Spanish ambassador and Agostino Chigi. When Alfonso Petrucci appeared in the Vatican (on May 19, 1517) he was arrested with Cardinal de Saulis and thrown into the dungeon of Sammarocco in S. Angelo. To

Arrest of the cardinals Petrucci and Sauli, May 1517.

[1] Vasari, *Ragionam. sopra le invens. da lui dipinte in Firenze*, Arezzo, 1762, p. 102. In the Gonzaga Archives I found an original letter from this physician to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, August 2, 1513, in which in the tone of a charlatan he offers to cure the Marquis of syphilis. *V. S. scriva al S. Mag^co Giuliano de Medici et al Ill. et R^mo S. Card. di Ferrara li quali so che farano bona relacione de le optime virtu mie et cose ancora quella lo potera intendere ne la citta di fiorenza dove ho sanato quatro cento et in italia non e persona la quale abia tale secreto. . . . El fideliss. servitore di V. S. M^ro battista da vercelli medico*—Seal, a head, apparently of Aesculapius.

the ambassador's remonstrances the Pope replied, "that faith need not be kept to a poisoner."[1] He immediately appointed a commission of enquiry, consisting of the cardinals of Sorrento, Ancona, and Farnese, and the universally detested fiscal advocate Mario Perusco. The surgeon, brought from Florence, made admissions on the rack which confirmed the depositions of the cardinals.[2]

Imprisonment of cardinal Riario.

To the horror of Rome, Riario was also seized on May 29, and was confined in the Vatican. A cardinal of forty years' standing, Dean of the Sacred College, he dwelt with royal splendour in his palace, one of the most respected princes of the Church. He was accustomed to ride through Rome with a cavalcade of 400 mounted attendants. Riario was hated by the Medici; in his early career as cardinal he had been witness to the attempt of the Pazzi; he had opposed Leo's election, and also the elevation of the bastard Giulio to the cardinalate; it was in consequence immediately said that Giulio intended his ruin.[3] He maintained his innocence, admitting only that he had listened to

[1] On May 20 the Pope told Marco Minio, the Venetian Orator, that Petrucci had only received a general permission to return, *e che non e vero che lui habbi promesso alli oratori hispani circa la venuta de ditto Cardinal.* In the volume of Minio's despatches; Archives of Venice.

[2] The Pope told the ambassadors that none of the prisoners, not even Battista, would be put to torture (so we are told by Marco Minio); but the Pope scarcely spoke the truth.

[3] Not only was this said in Germany (Ziegler, *Histor. Clem. VII.*, p. 314), but Sigism. Titius, a contemporary, also observes: *venerat quidem tempus quo Medici ulti sunt Juliani olim necem et Laurentii vulnus: Histor. Senens.*, viii. 97 (MS. Chigi).

Petrucci's arguments. On June 4 he was conducted to S. Angelo: he swooned, and had to be carried thither in a chair.[1]

Great was the excitement in Rome. In fear of a tumult, the Pope remained for several days shut up in S. Angelo, and guards were stationed throughout the Borgo. Never had there been a more painful Consistory than that of June 8. The Pope bitterly complained that among those present were two accomplices; he invited them to confess, in which case he would pardon them; otherwise they would be committed to S. Angelo. All protested their innocence. The Pope then ordered the examining judges to call each separately by name.

Cardinals Soderini and Adrian.

When they came to Soderini, they exhorted him to fall on his knees and beg for mercy. He did so, weeping. Adrian was then called. He denied his complicity; the Pope threatened him, and the cardinal acknowledged that he had listened to the bloodthirsty speeches of the conspirator, but had paid no attention to them, Petrucci being still young and boyish. The cardinals hereupon agreed that Soderini and Adrian were each to pay the Pope a fine of 25,000 ducats, when he would inflict no further punishment upon them. He pledged all to silence; nevertheless, in two hours the whole of Rome knew what had taken place in Consistory.[2] During the trial Lorenzo Medici came once in person to Rome, and then went to Rafael Petrucci at Siena, where Petrucci offered to do

[1] Despatch of Marco Minio, Rome, June 5, 1517.

[2] Paris de Grassis, iv. 203.

anything to procure the death-sentence of his relation, the Cardinal.[1]

With regard to the three prisoners, the Pope had declared to the cardinals at Whitsuntide that he would pardon them. He was warmly thanked, and wept from emotion. But he broke his word in the Consistory of June 22, deposed the accused and handed them over to the secular power. Petrucci was condemned to death. When the sentence was read aloud by Bembo, it evoked such an outburst of indignation that the storm of words and shouts was heard outside the building.

The surgeon and Petrucci's secretary were executed with horrible tortures. The Cardinal himself received his sentence with savage curses on the Pope; he motioned the confessor away; Roland the Moor strangled him in S. Angelo.[2]

Execution of Cardinal Petrucci, July 4, 1517.

As for the others, regard for the intercession of England, France and Spain forced Leo to clemency. De Saulis, who acknowledged his complicity and correspondence with Urbino, was set at liberty for a

[1] Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaelle*, App. p. 84, quotes the minutes of the trial of June 22, according to which Bandinelli and Petrucci would have made Riario pope on Leo's death. But who would vouch for the truth of these extorted confessions?

[2] Paris de Grassis remarks, that one of the judges, the Cardinal of Sorrento, coveted a commenda held by Petrucci in Apulia, which yielded 11,000 ducats. According to Guicciardini the execution took place on June 21; according to Jovius (*Vita Leonis X.*) while the new cardinals, who were elected on June 26, were at table in the Vatican. According to Titius, Petrucci was executed on June 6: *ut alii roma venientes nobis retulere imposita ad faciem larva capite plexus.*—Marco Minio, however (Despatch of July 9), reports that the execution took place on July 4.

sum of money, but, as it was asserted, with a dose of poison in his veins. Reinstated in his dignities, he sickened and died as early as March 29, 1518.[1]

Amnesty of Cardinal Riario.

Riario was also pardoned. There were popular rejoicings when Giulio Medici brought him from S. Angelo and led him to the Pope. The entrances to the Vatican were besieged by people come to congratulate him. With a painful mixture of fear, gratitude and hatred the Cardinal knelt before the Pope and professed the repentance which he did not feel. His pardon cost him 50,000 ducats, which his friend Chigi paid for him, and the promise that after his death his palace (the present Cancellaria) should become the property of the Camera.[2] Riario had witnessed the times of Sixtus IV. and the Borgia, and may have dreamt of poison and the dagger; with a broken spirit he re-entered his magnificent palace, but after a time sought an asylum at Naples, where he died on July 9, 1521.[3]

Soderini and Adrian were not further molested,

[1] Genoa interceded in his favour, and with more urgency his brothers, who, it was said, paid 25,000 ducats. He dwelt with the Orsini at Monterotondo, where he fell ill, and died in Rome. Bizarri, *Hist. Gen.*, lib. xix. 448.

[2] According to Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, lib. xxx. 596, he even paid 150,000 gold florins, and Titius, viii. 104, says the same. According to the latter he was to pay 50,000 at once, 50,000 at Christmas, 50,000 on Ascension day, until when he was to remain in S. Angelo. The sum, however, was reduced. According to the minutes in Fea, the sum only appears to be that given in the text; so also in Marco Minio (Despatch of June 15, 1517): the Cardinal, he adds, had moreover promised a grand-daughter of Count Girolamo Riario as wife to one of the Medici.

[3] Giulio Medici afterwards caused a monument to be erected to his memory, perhaps to silence malicious rumours.

beyond that the Pope demanded 12,500 ducats from each of these wealthy gentlemen. The first went to Fundi, where he owned a property, and there remained under the protection of Prospero Colonna until the death of Leo X. His friend the Emperor Maximilian interposed on behalf of Adrian, who held the wealthy benefices of Bath and Wells in England, which were coveted by the avaricious Wolsey. Although pardoned, he fled to Tivoli on the night of June 20.[1] The Pope sent bailiffs after him, but the Cardinal escaped to the Adriatic, by vessel reached Zara, arrived at Venice on July 6, and here found the longed-for asylum. Here, deposed by the Pope, and under the protection of the Doge Loredano, he dwelt in the Cà Bernardo on the Grand Canal until he learnt of the death of his persecutor. Then, while journeying to the Conclave in Rome, he disappeared on the way, leaving no trace. It was believed that a servant had robbed and murdered him.[2]

Flight of Cardinal Adrian.

[1] Marco Minio reports that Adrian's offence was really very small. He had paid the fine of 12,000 ducats imposed on him, had then fled accompanied by a monk and his equerry: Despatch of June 22, 1517.

[2] Valerianus, *De literator. infel.*, i. 268. See concerning his exile R. Brown, *Calendar of Venice*, iii. n. 374.—In *Lett. di Prin.*, i. 24, of April 1518, it is said: *N. S. haveva promesso al Re d'Inghilt. di privare il Card. Adriano, et poi ad instanza dell' Imp., e di Francia, per danari gli mancava di promessa.* The Pope deposed him, however, on July 6, 1518: Paris de Grassis, iv. 293. After his flight the King of England immediately bestowed his Bishopric of Bath on Wolsey. The Cardinal even threatened Venice with war if she any longer protected the "poisoner of Alexander VI."—Letter in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, iii. 1281, 1291.—Already in August 1517 Silvestro de Gigli, the English ambassador, took possession of Adrian's palace in the Borgo, believing himself justified in so doing by his deed of

The trial, hideous in its revelations and disgraceful in its financial plundering, necessarily filled the world with horror of the Pope.[1] People were surprised that the minutes of the trial were not published, that the only object aimed at was to ruin the accused. A historian of Siena at this time does not conceal his suspicion that a piece of Medicean trickery had been perpetrated, and exclaims: "Of what use are the canonical laws, that forbid priests to steep their hands in blood, when the popes and cardinals have become antichrists and tyrants!"[2] Jovius says that scarcely anyone in Rome sympathised with Leo. Many considered the punishment of the guilty unduly severe. The Pope had indeed shown himself devoid of all magnanimity, and unmindful of the highest duty of the priesthood and the commands of Christ; he had even shown himself a hypocrite.

gift. Marco Minio, in Rawdon Brown, *ut supra*, ii. 954. It was then obtained by Cardinal Cibò in July 1518; another palace on the Navona (*in agmine*), in which Adrian had usually dwelt, that is to say, the palace formerly built by Girol. Riario (now Altemps) fell to the Governor of Rome. Adrian's vineyard was acquired by Count Annibale Rangone, captain of the papal guard. *Ibid.*, n. 1045.

[1] It was said in Germany that the whole trial had been a financial speculation: see (Hutten's) *Dissuasoria*, in Freher, ii. 395.

[2] *Occidebat Rafael Sene, trucidabat, laniabat, suspendebat Leo Pont. et Julius Card. Rome. Quid nam prosunt a sanctis editi pontificib. canones sacri: dum prohibent clericos manus sanguine foedare; valeant, valeant igitur postquam antichrist atque Tyranni pontifices et cardinales effecti sunt.* Titius, viii. 105. This man, born at Castiglione, in the province of Arezzo, was parish priest of S. Stefanos in Cammollia, and died at Siena in 1528. His *History of Siena*, in 12 volumes, comes down to 1525. Vol. x. contains materials extending to 1528. The work, in part, deserves to be printed.

And what must Christendom say, when it heard that its high-priest henceforward only appeared at the altar with a bodyguard, because he diplomatically affected fear of being stabbed by a cardinal! The Sacred College was profoundly agitated and insulted. Leo, however, adroitly utilised this trial to effect its complete subjugation. Amid the terrors of the moment he ventured on a measure, on which even an Alexander VI. had not ventured. On June 26, 1517, he created thirty-one cardinals at a stroke. Giulio Medici was the instigator of this outrageous act, and who could doubt that through this introduction of Medicean creatures he resolved to pave his own way to the Papacy?

Creation of cardinals *en masse*, June 26, 1517.

Among the elected were the young sons of the Pope's sisters, Giovanni Salviati and Nicolo Ridolfi of Florence, and Ludovico Rossi, son of a natural sister of the great Lorenzo Medici. Some deserved the purple, such as the General of the Dominicans Tommaso Vio of Gaeta, the General of the Augustinians Egidius, the General of the Franciscans Cristoforo Numalio of Forlì, further Lorenzo Campeggi of Bologna, Piccolomini of Siena, and Adrian of Utrecht, the tutor of Charles of Spain. For the powers were also taken into consideration; the Infanta Alfonso of Portugal, a child of seven, was designated for the cardinalate: Lewis Bourbon, brother of the Constable, two Trivulzi from Milan, Francesco Pisani of Venice, Pallavicini of Genoa, the young Ercole Rangone of Modena, a son of that Bianca Bentivoglio, who in Bologna had formerly received and hospitably

sheltered Leo when flying from imprisonment, and Rafael Petrucci of Siena were raised to the purple.[1] Armellino of Perugia, a rapacious financial speculator who soon acquired a melancholy notoriety, also received the red hat. It awoke surprise that Leo also promoted Romans to the Sacred College; namely Alessandro Cesarini, the highly cultured nephew of Cardinal Giuliano, the learned Paolo Emilio Cesi, Domenico Jacobazzi, the Bishop Andrea della Valle, Francesco Conti, Domenico de Cupis, Franciotto Orsini, who until recently had been a condottiere, and even Pompeo Colonna, the defiant opponent of Julius II.[2] Rome was soon to learn to her cost the imprudence of bringing these ancient factions once more into the Curia. By this favour the Pope may have hoped to conciliate the Orsini, he or his nephew Lorenzo having held out to them the prospect of recovering Traetto and other fortresses which had been occupied by the Colonna; but Fabrizio and

Cardinals of Roman families.

[1] Bianca Rangone had already come to Rome, in October, 1513, to intercede for the exiled Bentivogli and the house of Rangone. The Pope gave her the house of the Cardinal of Aleria as dwelling, and a monthly pension of 200 ducats. All who had any favour to ask turned to her. Francesco Chieregati to the Marchesa Isabella, Rome, October 29, 1513. Gonzaga Archives.

[2] The Cesi came from Umbria; the founder of the Roman branch was Pietro Cesi, Senator of Rome in 1468, who died at Narni in 1477. His son Angelo, who was Consistorial advocate under Julius II., died on February 6, 1528, and was buried in the chapel of the Annunziata, which he had founded in S. M. della Pace. The son of Angelo was the Cardinal Paolo Emilio (who died in 1537). The Cesi became Dukes of Acquasparta. See Litta on this family.

Prospero still remained too strong to allow them to accomplish this object.

With lavish splendour Leo entertained the new cardinals in the Vatican adorned with Raffaelle's paintings. They indeed paid dearly for the banquet; since the creation of cardinals on this colossal scale brought several hundred thousand ducats to the Pope.[1] These sums, so disgracefully acquired, were needed to put an end to the war with Urbino, but this Leo only succeeded in quelling by corruption and treachery. Unsupported by any power, deserted by the generals, who had been bribed, Rovere at the end of August was obliged to give ear to the mediation of France and Spain.[2] With the promise that he might remain in the enjoyment of his private property, in September he left the beautiful castle of Urbino, from which he took the most valuable collections, particularly the library, with him to Mantua. Thus was the Pope freed from his weightiest care, which had been all the more embarrassing, since just at this time, after the conquest of Egypt by the terrible Selim I., the Turks were threatening Italy from Africa. But by the war with Urbino Leo had made

End of the war concerning Urbino, Sept. 1517.

[1] Jacob Ziegler, *Hist. Clementis VII.* in Schelhorn, *Amoenit. Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 302. According to *Pasquillor*, i. 180, more than 500,000 ducats. M. Sanuto (vol. xxiv. fol. 257) gives the separate sums: Conti paid 25,000 ducats, Valle 20,000, Colonna 20,000, Poncetta 30,000, Campeggi 24,000, Armellini 40,000. The three generals of orders together 70,000.

[2] *Lettere di Principi*, i. 37. Dennistoun, ii. 577, shows that Leo X. offered Maldonado 10,000 ducats and the purple for his son "if he would deliver up Francesco Maria, alive or dead."—At the Emperor's command, Moncada recalled the mercenaries from the Duke's army.



himself both hated and despised. His finances were so utterly ruined that he was forced to resort to still more dangerous expedients. The costs of the war were estimated at 800,000 gold florins, an enormous sum for that period and considering the conditions of the State of the Church. A considerable part of it, however, had been extorted in loans from the Florentines.[1]

4. MARRIAGE OF LORENZO MEDICI AND MADELEINE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE—LEO'S ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE—END OF THE LATERAN COUNCIL, MARCH 1517—CORRUPTION OF THE CURIA—THE FLORENTINES AT LEO'S COURT—LEO'S LOVE OF SPLENDOUR, EXTRAVAGANCE AND MANNER OF LIFE—THE INDULGENCE FOR S. PETER'S—LUTHER PROTESTS—THE GERMAN HUMANISTS—LUTHER IN AUGSBURG—HUTTEN—BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION.

After having replaced his nephew on the throne of Urbino, Leo endeavoured to secure his position by a brilliant marriage. In former days the royal house of Naples had sent its bastard daughters to Rome as wives for the papal nephews; now, and even under Alexander VI., French princesses consented to fill the position. Thanks to the mediation of the Florentine orator Francesco Vettori,

[1] *Quorum magnam partem obtinuit, vel potius extorsit a Florentinis suis.* Fabroni, p. 113. On this account out of the spoils of Urbino he gave Florence Montefeltro, Macerata, Certaldo, Sestino and S. Leo. Bull, Rome, July 5, 1520. Archives of Florence, *Atti pubbl.*

Francis I. yielded to the wishes of the Pope. Mutual approaches were made; Leo wished the past to be forgotten, to secure the protection of France to his house, to place a limit on the greatness of the Spanish house of Habsburg; the King wished to make sure of the Pope's adherence, not only to frustrate Maximilian's endeavour to secure his grandson's election as King of the Romans, but also to win for himself the imperial crown; for as candidate for this honour Charles was resolved to appear.

The bride chosen for Lorenzo Medici was Madeleine, of the ancient house of Boulogne, a daughter of Jean de la Tour d'Auvergne, whose sister had married John Stuart of Albany. In March 1518 the nephew journeyed to Amboise with scarcely less magnificence than Caesar Borgia formerly, and with presents for the bride and Queen Claudia so splendid as to be valued at 300,000 ducats. He was also the bearer of a bull, which gave the King permission to spend the tithes for the Turkish war according to his pleasure. Amid brilliant festivals at the Castle of Amboise was solemnised first the baptism of the Dauphin, then the marriage. Lorenzo had now been received into the royal house of France; and thus between it and the Pope an alliance had been concluded which was at variance with Leo's original intention. Cardinal Bibiena, his most trusted friend, remained as legate in France, where he soon allowed himself to be won over to French interests; the youthful pair, however, came to Florence in the summer, and here Lorenzo made his abode. He was now a

Marriage of Lorenzo Medici to Madeleine la Tour d'Auvergne, 1518.

powerful man; the eyes of the Italians were fixed on him. Machiavelli dedicated to him his book *The Prince*, those terrible instructions, how he should make himself absolute ruler of Florence. In him the despairing patriot now saw the Saviour of Italy, the man who could perhaps by force unite the dismembered country and expel the foreigner.[1] He thus added delusion to delusion. Lorenzo derived no profit from *The Prince*, but the book seemed to have been entirely compiled for the use of the Papacy.

Leo had attained his most ardent desire. Italy was tranquillised; the State of the Church a rounded and compact territory. Its frontiers on the North were protected by Urbino and Florence, Medicean provinces. Rome had been transformed into a museum of peaceful arts, and the Roman people lived only on the new splendours of the Papacy. Leo had reduced the Salt tax; refused to hear of monopolies; provided that moderate prices should rule the markets, and even increased the official authority of the conservators. The civic benefices were exclusively bestowed on citizens; he had again received Romans into the College of Cardinals. Under his government the city in truth enjoyed internal security and increasing prosperity. The grateful citizens in consequence erected his statue on the Capitol.[2]

The prestige of the Papacy among the European

[1] The poetic emphasis of the last chapter in the "*Principe*" is truly impressive.

[2] Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, 77, 115.—Also the speech delivered at the unveiling of his statue in April 1521, of which we shall hear later.

powers had increased, since it had itself become one of the great powers of Italy. All princes sued for the favour of the priest-king, at whose disposal—on the score of the ecclesiastical property scattered over Europe—stood a great part of the sources of the public revenues. Within the State of the Church, even in 1518, Leo saw no ground of disquietude. He had done with the Council on March 16, 1517, the day of its close. In this servile synod of a few Italian bishops, which audaciously called itself an Oecumenical Council, no voice had been raised to question the omnipotence of the Pope and his supremacy over Councils. It had tranquillised the impotent schism, had caused the Emperor to renounce the thought of reformation, and had once more entangled the King of France in the meshes of the Roman Curia. In fact, despite the protests of his national Church, Francis I. had transformed the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges into a concordat, by means of which the papal monarchy was restored in France itself. The Synod had ratified the censorship of books, introduced by Alexander VI., and in its last sitting had imposed tithes for the war against the Turks. These and other unimportant decrees were the work of a five years' assembly.[1]

Close of the Lateran Council, March 16, 1517.

[1] The Acts of the Council (Harduin, ix. 1561) were edited in 1521 by Cardinal del Monte. The Pragmatic Sanction was annulled in the eleventh sitting: Bull *Confirmationis*, Dumont, iv. i. 229. The bull concerning the censorship of books *Inter Solicitudines* was issued 4. *Non. Maji* 1515.—Paris de Grassis (iv. 186) ventured to write of this Synod: *licet pleraque levia et pene futilia, ne dicam puerilia tractata fuerint ut supra de singulis scripsi. Quidquid autem sit, tandem finitum est.*



Nothing had been done for the reform of the clergy, although the topic had been under discussion and been demanded by men like Egidius in a searching speech, and by Francesco Pico della Mirandola in a pamphlet. True, the Synod issued laws concerning ecclesiastical discipline, the reform of the Curia and the cardinals, but only of a general character. Nothing was done to check the revolting abuse of the accumulation of benefices and offices, of which the whole of Christendom loudly complained. This scandal, as also the sale of spiritual offices, was practised even more by Leo than by his predecessor. The Curia was a market for the sale of favours and dignities of every kind. The Pope accumulated gold in order to squander it.

A hundred collateral relations, hundreds of old and new clients stretched out their hands for money or benefices; some reminded Leo of supposed services during his exile as cardinal; others asserted that they had brought him back to Florence; others, again, that they had made him Pope. Ariosto ridiculed their conduct in satires.[1] "The Florentines," said a Venetian ambassador, "take his last soldo from the Pope; they are hated, for these Florentines are everywhere."[2]

Rome was, so to speak, a Tuscan city. The Pucci, Tornabuoni, Gaddi, the Acciajuoli, Salviati, Ridolfi, the Rossi and Accolti, the Strozzi and Ruccellai and many other Florentines filled the most influential posts at the papal court. Of the

[1] See Satires 3 and 7 (*Le satire di Lodov. Ariosto*, A.D. 1534).

[2] *Relazione di Marco Minio*, in Albéri, p. 63.

immediate members of Leo's family several dwelt in Rome. Ippolito, the bastard of his brother Giuliano, was carefully brought up in the Vatican. His sister Maddalena and her husband, the rich and illustrious Franceschetto Cibò, still lived in Rome, and their son Innocent, a cardinal, had rooms in the Vatican.[1] Through Clarice, sister of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and wife of the wealthy Filippo Strozzi, the Strozzi family had also been brought to Rome. The powerful Jacopo Salviati was husband of Leo's sister Lucrezia, and her son Giovanni was a cardinal. Death in 1515 had deprived the Pope of his other sister Contessina, the wife of Piero Ridolfi and mother of Cardinal Niccolò.

Relations of Leo X. in Rome.

Surrounded by relations, friends and men of brilliant talents, Leo X. wished to enjoy the ripened fruits of that culture which had arisen under his ancestors. The sensual pleasures of the Borgia were not congenial to his nature. He only wished to see around him intellect, fortune and magnificence. He expended incredible sums on his favourites; it was said that in gifts and in the game of Primiera he spent 8000 ducats a month, and to this sum the revenues of the vacant benefices amounted. He spent a like sum, half of the income derived from the Marches and Romagna, on his ever-open table. Leo, says his biographer, took unlimited pleasure in banquets: he purposely lingered amid the most delicate dishes and wines, in order to prolong his

The Pope's extravagance.

Financial artifices.

[1] Cibò died in Rome on July 25, 1519, and Maddalena on December 11 of the same year.

enjoyment of the jests of his merry companions. Then, especially if the banquet were at night, he would call for song or the lute, and the whole palace would re-echo to the sound of musical instruments.[1]

World-wide dominion formed the background of the ancient Roman Bacchanalia; and now in like manner men revelled on the spiritual revenues of the countries of Christendom. Cardinals squandered thousands in a single banquet. Unabashed they took their seats beside the most celebrated courtesans of Rome.[2] Agostino Chigi made himself the talk of all Italy, when, on the occasion of the baptism of a bastard child, he entertained the Pope at his villa. Tongues of parrots were served at the banquet; live fish were brought from Byzantium. After each course the gold plates and dishes were thrown, with childish ostentation, into the Tiber, where they were caught in nets concealed from sight. Rome was one vast theatre of festivals. In the midst of the musicians, actors and charlatans, poets and artists, courtiers and parasites who filled the Vatican, the Pope resembled

Roman debauchery in the time of Leo X.

[1] Frequently, overcome with delight, he sank back in his chair and seemed as if spell-bound, *Vita Anonyma*, in Roscoe, iii. 591.

[2] On March 13, 1519, Toma Lippomanno writes from Rome of the magnificent entertainment, which the banker Lorenzo Strozzi, brother of Filippo, gave to the Cardinals Rossi, Cibò, Salviati, and Ridolfi, the nearest relations of the Pope; in addition to buffoons, three courtesans were invited: *et una di quelle putane di le prime di roma chiamata "madre mia."* The guests were first conducted into an appalling mortuary chamber; then into a splendid hall, where the viands were brought from below by machinery. *E li cardinali comenzarono a vomitar e cussi li altri*, etc. See Marino Sanuto, vol. xxvii. fol. 231.

the *Tribunus voluptatum* of the Romans. At his command ancient and modern comedies and the most obscene pieces were represented.[1] Could we describe a year of Roman life in the time of Leo X. and behold the series of festivals, with their strange combination of Paganism and Christianity, we should indeed have a motley picture before us: the masked processions of the Carnival, the myths of the ancient deities, scenes from Roman history represented in magnificent tableaux, more processions, gorgeous religious festivals, the Passion-play in the Colosseum, classic declamations on the Capitol, festivals and speeches on the anniversary of the city, daily cavalcades of the cardinals, ceremonious progresses of the ambassadors and princes with retinues resembling armies, cavalcades of huntsmen whenever the Pope went with falcons and hounds, with baggage and servants to Magliana, Palo, or Viterbo, where he was followed by the cardinals, the foreign ambassadors, the merry throng of Roman poets, barons and princes. It was a Bacchanalian procession. In lay attire the Pope pursued the stag or boar the livelong day. The poet Posthumus has described one of these hunts near Palo in the manner of Ovid.[2] And yet all

[1] I omit all well-known court stories and anecdotes, such as those of Baraballa's coronation as poet, and his ride on the elephant sent from Portugal, of the cudgelling and tossing in blankets of wretched poetasters, and the like.

[2] *Eleg.*, lib. ii. 91. Giovanni Maroni was chief keeper of the game and forests for ten miles round the Vatican, where none but the Pope and Cardinals hunted. Brief, Viterbo, October 5, A. ii. Bembi, *Epistolar. Leonis X.*, ix. n. 1.—*Leo agit, quod semper agit, Dianae*

this thirst for pleasure was united to a feverish enthusiasm for intellectual matters, and to the great and little questions of cabinet and international politics. Banquets, comedies, works of science and art, consistories, affairs of the Church, diplomacy, the most subtle intrigues, war and peace, Medicean nepotism, the same Vatican and the same Pope found space and time for all.

Financial arts.

Leo scattered gold in streams; but the ebb was quicker than the flow. The datary Pucci and Cardinal Medici had exhausted their financial arts; cardinals' hats were sold, new offices, new taxes were invented, even a new order, "the Knights of Peter" (400 members applied), was instituted for the sake of money. The Pope would have held no art in greater esteem than that of manufacturing gold, for which the poet Augurelli wrote in verse an unfortunately useless recipe. Leo rewarded him with an empty purse. In 1523 the Venetian ambassadors came to the conclusion that the ancient doors of yellowish-green metal at the Pantheon contained no gold, simply from the fact that Leo had left them untouched.[1]

The collection of tithes for the Turkish war was announced at the end of the Council, and under pretext of raising funds to rebuild S. Peter's, a general indulgence was offered. For centuries past

quam Minervae devotior, writes Michael Humelberg, in November 1516 from Rome, to Aperbach in Erfurt. Munich Library, *Cod. lat.* 4007, fol. 896.

[1] *Perchè Papa Leone non ve l'avria lasciato*: in Albéri, Ser. ii., vol. iii. 109.

the Papacy had levied taxes on Christendom. Chrysoloras had formerly said that Peter and Paul had brought more money to Rome than the rulers of the Roman Empire. But no nation had been more preyed upon than the German, on the ground of its connection with Rome through the Empire, and on account of the immense estates which the Church held in Germany.[1] Profound ill-humour and hatred of the Pope and Italy prevailed here. No complaints of the abuses of the Roman Curia had ever been attended to. Emperors, princes and peoples, the internal affairs of Germany had never met with anything but haughty contempt from the popes; the country was not held good for anything but to provide inexhaustible supplies for Roman avarice. When Leo X. now promulgated the indulgence of S. Peter, it was said that a part of the revenues of this remission of sins, namely that expected from Saxony, was intended for Madonna Maddalena Cibò.[2]

Impoverishment of Germany by the Roman Curia.

Albert of Mainz undertook to raise this levy in Saxony, and was authorised by the Pope therewith to defray the debt, which he owed to the house of Fugger for the payment of his pallium. Agents of

[1] Paul Lang, *Chron. Citiuense*, p. 1279: *et nisi iidem principes remedium adhibere procurent, omne aes et aurum pedetentim hoc malo e Germania corrasum et haustum Romam velut in sacculum pertusum et in inexplebilem voraginem portabitur.*

[2] Guicciardini, and Sarpi, *Concil. Trident.*, i. c. 6. Pallavicini, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, i. c. 3, disputes this. Leo X. is accused of causing the marble destined for S. Peter's to be secretly diverted to the Palazzo Medici: *Pasquillus Exul*, Ulrichi ab Hutten Opp. (Munich ed.), vol. ii. 440.

the Fugger travelled to Germany with the preachers of indulgences. The impudent mountebank Tetzel appeared. On October 31, 1517, Luther affixed his theses to the doors of the Palace-church of Wittenberg. The arrow fled from his hands; it reached Rome, and struck the Pope's tiara, which tottered from the blow.[1] The time was now ripe; the German Reformation appeared.

Luther writes his Theses, Oct. 31, 1517.

Among the great men of the sixteenth century now stepped forth the strongest character in Germany; a son of the people, a man of homeliest aspect. The Middle Ages, which he was to overthrow, had clad him like Savonarola in the monastic habit. But Luther laid claim neither to Savonarola's eloquent Latinity nor to his celestial inspirations. The spirit of a world-subduing genius lay hidden in the most pious, the bluntest and homeliest of natures.

A strong Christian faith and a holy scorn of the lies which falsified the sublime ideal of Christ were the sources of his enthusiasm. In the language of Roman rhetoric a Jesuit said, "that Luther was of so bold a nature, that in order to terrify him Heaven would have been obliged to employ a thunderbolt," a saying which the God-fearing man would have condemned as blasphemy.[2]

[1] So it appeared to Frederick the Wise in a dream the night before the Theses were posted up—one of the Cyrus' dreams in the history of the world. See W. E. Tentzel, *Histor. Bericht vom Anfang und Fortgang der Reformation Lutheri*, Leipzig, 1718, p. 242.

[2] *Martin Lutero — huomo si ardito che a spaventarlo convenne che'l cielo spendesse un fulmine, da cui avvampato ed appena non abbruciato si mosse à partirsi dal mondo ed entrò nel chiostro*: Pallavicini, *l.c.*. 4.

The professor from the youthful university of Wittenberg was known to no one in Italy, in whose schools he had never studied. He had been in Rome in the service of his order in 1510, but it is probable that the Augustinians in the Campo Marzo scarcely remembered him. Among all the travellers to Rome the city had given entrance to none more remarkable than this son of a German miner, who was destined to transform the Christian republic by the greatest revolution which it had experienced since the time of Constantine. But still, like a pilgrim of the Middle Ages, at sight of the towers of the city the future reformer threw himself on the ground and exclaimed, "Hail to thee, thou Sacred Rome: yea truly sacred by thy holy Martyrs and their blood that was shed within thee!"[1] He made a pilgrimage to the seven basilicas; and climbed the Scala Santa on his knees, for he had not yet convinced himself that the grace of God was not tied to privileged places.[2] The Saxon monk, like Erasmus before him, had not access to the higher circles of the Curia; he did not sit at Cardinals' tables, but he heard and saw much that filled him with horror. He said afterwards: "What a terrible people! Had I not myself seen the Court of Rome, I could never have

Luther as a pilgrim in Rome.

[1] *Tischreden Luther's*, printed at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1593, n. lxxvii. The precise date of Luther's visit to Rome is obscure.

[2] "As it was the case with me in Rome, for I too was such a mad saint, I ran to all the churches and dens, and believed all their filthy lies. I also even read a mass or ten masses in Rome, and I was at that time very sorry that my father and mother were still alive, for I would have gladly redeemed them from Purgatory with my masses": Exposition of 117th Psalm, Luther's works, Altenburg, v. 251.

believed that the Papacy was so great an abomination. If there is a hell, then is Rome built upon it, and this I have heard at Rome itself."[1]

In the age of Luther the German humanists looked on Rome no longer with the enthusiasm of the religious faith of past times, nor yet with the eyes of Winckelmann. Luther himself bestowed scarcely a passing glance on the monumental splendours of the city. The following is his contribution to the Mirabilia of Rome. "The footprints of ancient Rome where it stood of old are hard now to recognise. The Theatrum (Colosseum) you may see, and the Thermas Diocletianas, that was a bath in the time of Diocletian, whereunto the water was brought from Naples five and twenty German miles into a fair and lordly basin. Rome, as you may now behold it, is even a dead corpse beside the ancient buildings. For where the houses now stand there were once the roofs, so deep lieth the rubbish, as is plain to see by the Tiber, since it hath banks of rubbish as high as twice the length of a foot-soldier's spear. But even now Rome hath its splendours; the Pope goeth triumphing with fair-decked stallions.[2] German Humanists for the most part already maintained

Luther's description of Rome.

[1] Exegetical lectures, in the German works, xxiii. p. 10; xliv. p. 308. In Souchay, *Deutschl. während der Reformation*, Frankfort, 1868, p. 28. And similar passages in the *Tischreden*, n. lxxvii., in which he frequently describes the state of things in Rome in grotesque and glaring colours: "Tiberius, the heathen Emperor, even if he were a monster such as Suteonius writes of, is nevertheless an angel in comparison with the present court of Rome; the same hath to serve the supper table twelve naked girls."

[2] *Tischreden, ut supra*, Von der Stadt Rom.

that attitude towards Rome which Petrarch had formerly held towards the "Babel" Avignon. In the national hatred of the Roman hierarchy already lay the consciousness of the approaching struggle. Even before Luther wrote his theses, Hutten had visited Rome in the spring of 1516. He too seems to have looked on the wonders of the city with indifference. He wrote at this time his Roman epigrams addressed to Crotus, in which he only expresses the horror he felt at the sight of the Pope, the cardinals and all those haughty prelates, who with insolent countenance mocked at morality and chastity, who were privileged to commit the crime of selling God Himself in the market-place, and to whose yoke of servitude the German people so willingly bowed the neck.[1]

Hutten in Rome.

The hostile feeling of Germany was well known to the Roman Curia, but did not appear dangerous to it. The Curia scarcely heeded the early movement in German mysticism, theology or learning, although the law-suit between Reuchlin and the Dominicans of Cologne was the harbinger of a spiritual revolution. As early as the year 1516 appeared the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*.[2] German Humanism suddenly arose as a phalanx of champions in behalf of liberty and reason. These men were versed in

The German Humanists and Rome.

[1] *Ulrici ab Hutten ad Crotum Rubianum de statu Romano Epigrammata ex Urbe missa.*, Opp. i. 257–264. Michael Humelberg of Ravensburg was in Rome at the same time as Hutten. He mentions Hutten in his letters (Munich Library, *Cod. lat.* 4007, an important collection of letters of that period).

[2] D. Strausz, *Hutten*, i. cap. 8.—They had been preceded in 1514 by the *Epistolae illustrium virorum.*

the discipline of classic literature, were the pupils of the Latinists and Hellenists of Italy, and, but for the work of Poggio, Filelfo, Valla, of Aldus and Pope Nicholas, would not have risen to the level of their task. It was not without reason that afterwards at the Council of Trent, a cardinal exclaimed, with a sigh: "O that there had never been professors of the Greek and Hebrew language in Germany! Then should we have been spared this revolution, and unfortunate Germany would never have fallen into so many heresies."[1] In the long series of European Humanists, extending from Petrarch to Erasmus, the Germans, beginning with Heimburg and Cusa, appeared as the continuation of one and the same legion of thinkers who wore the uniform of antiquity until they proclaimed themselves independent. But these leaders of the German nation were associated with another set of influences, with the Ghibellines of imperial times, with the Monarchists of the fourteenth century and with Wycliffe, Huss and the men of the Council of Reform. The struggle for the deliverance of Germany from the papal power, under the terrorism of the counter-reformation, severed the Humanists of the two countries, and produced a breach between the German and Latin intellect, which is not closed even now.

In Rome the dispute concerning indulgences appeared at first nothing but a squabble between envious monks. From the height of his universal

[1] Cristoforo Madrucci, Cardinal of Trent, in Raynald ad A. 1546, n. 33.

culture, Leo X. could not lend an ear to the altercation of barbarous schoolmen. In promulgating the indulgence he only followed the example of his predecessors. He regarded himself as the representative of Christ, who could distribute the treasury of the graces of the Church, and it is scarcely probable that he had ever bestowed a thought on the connection between sin and redemption, or the incongruity between a moral transaction and an outward performance. Men did not understand the moral principle which underlay the German movement; they attributed it solely to vulgar material causes. It was believed that the affair could be settled by a bull.

On August 7, 1518, Luther received the citation to Rome. But the Elector Frederick procured him an imperial safe-conduct to Augsburg, where he was to have an interview with the cardinal-legate Tommaso da Vio of Gaeta. The imperial diet, summoned by Maximilian to impose the tithes for the Turkish war and to induce the States to elect his grandson King of the Romans, was already sitting at Augsburg. And Luther was already the subject of diplomatic calculations. The Pope was unwilling to offend Luther's protector Frederick on account of his influence on the election, and Maximilian was able to make use of Luther against the Pope, whether he protected the bold monk or sacrificed him, as in August 1518 he seems to have contemplated doing.[1] In the very first hour of its

Diet at Augsburg, Aug. 1518.

[1] From Augsburg on August 5 he wrote a formal denunciation of Luther to the Pope, and declared that he would proceed in the

existence the great work of the Reformation was placed under the protection of political combinations, one of the most important causes of which was the temporal position of the Papacy.

The haughty Cardinal of Gaeta looked with condescension on Luther kneeling before him, then with astonishment on the same monk as he rose up a hero of thought.[1] When they separated, the Roman legate with the exhortation to Luther to recant, the German doctor replying that he would not recant truth clear as the day, Germany and Rome already took leave of one another.

Luther before the Cardinal of Gaeta in Augsburg.

Luther fled from Augsburg. A year of fruitless negotiation followed, while the pamphlets of the Reformer set all Germany on fire. Luther created the vigorous language that expressed the temper of the age, and the genius of his nation; and German printing now became a force in the emancipation of the world.[2] From August 1518 onwards Melanchthon lent his theological learning to the cause of the Reformation. Erasmus, admired and feared, had frequently lashed the Roman priesthood with his sarcastic wit, and, as early as 1516, had provided the Reformation with the emended text

Melanchthon and Erasmus.

empire entirely in accordance with the will of the Pope. Raynald, n. 90.

[1] Hutten ridiculed the Cardinal in his satirical dialogue, "*Die Anschauenden*," Opp. iv.

[2] "*Den druck uns Deutschen got zugeschickt hat*
Zu lernen die schrift und erkennen der Romer art."
Ein clag und bitt der deutsch. nation an den almechtigen got umb erlosung auss dem gefenkniss der Antichrist: in Oscar Schade, *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, Hanover, 1856, i. 3.

of the Gospels. The Dominicans said that this new Lucian laid the egg of the heresy which Luther hatched; Aleander hated him and called him the source of all evil. Motives of worldly policy and conservative inclination made him timidly remain aloof. He taught the lesson of tolerant obedience, which the English theologians afterwards elevated into a doctrine. But in Hutten the Reformation found the chivalrous champion of the national and political reform of Germany which was involved in the movement. With the same ardour that he hated the Papacy he loved his own people, whose great part in the Empire filled him with enthusiasm and whose moral power allowed him to predict an even greater future. He appealed to the Emperor, to the princes and all Germans to sever themselves once for all from the Papacy, to remember Henry IV. and the Hohenstaufens, and with a free German Empire to erect a German national Church.[1] The celebrated work of Valla on the fictitious Donation of Constantine had been published in 1517. We must read his sarcastic dedication to Leo X., bearing in mind that Luther had not yet appeared, if we would recognise how ripe Germany had become for the breach with Rome.[2]

Hutten.

On November 9, 1518, Leo X. announced in a

[1] In 1519 Hutten discovered in Fulda the apology written by Bishop Walram of Naumburg for Henry IV. and against Gregory VII.; he dedicated it (March 1520) to the Archduke Ferdinand. Strausz, ii. c. 2.

[2] About the time of the Diet of Augsburg appeared also the well-known *Pasquillus exul* against tithes for the Turkish war and indulgences; one of the strongest satires against Rome.

bull that all Christians must believe in the Pope's power to grant indulgences. On the other hand, in his appeal to a Council Luther asserted that the Pope was fallible like all other men. Prierias and Eck, Luther's bitterest enemies, defended the Primacy, the Infallibility and the Supremacy of the Pope above all royal jurisdiction.[1] Men of that age might have believed themselves transported back to the time of Lewis the Bavarian, when these Roman theories were so strongly contested by the Monarchists, although in earlier days, when no art of printing existed to disseminate their writings, their doctrines had failed to awaken any echo in the unenlightened people. Their views had finally been reduced to silence by the victory of the popes over the councils. And a like victory over these Ghibelline doctrines seemed undoubted in Rome at the present time. For the relations of the Papacy to the Imperial power were not unfavourable.

Prierias and Eck.

[1] The Dominican Prierias (Silvestro Mazzolini, a Piedmontese) was the first to enter the lists against Luther with the *Errata et argumenta Lutheri detecta et repulsa*; printed in Rome in 1520 (Roccaberti, *Bibl. Max.*, xix. 227). He defends the infallibility of the Pope: *nullus ergo in Ecclesia habet judicium infallibile, nisi quatenus judicium ejus habet secum judicium Pontificis*: L. ii. c. xvi. —*Ibid.* the tract *De Papa et ejus Potestate*; and that of the Cardinal of Gaeta, Tommaso da Vio, *De auctoritate Papae et Concilii*. On April 1, 1520, Eck handed his work *De Primatu Petri* to the Pope (*Opp. Johis Eckii*, Ingolstadt, 1531, p. 1).

5. MAXIMILIAN'S EFFORTS TO PROCURE THE ELECTION OF HIS GRANDSON AS KING OF THE ROMANS—HIS DEATH — ELECTION STRUGGLES — LEO'S POLICY—CHARLES V. ELECTED EMPEROR, JUNE 28, 1519—DEATH OF LORENZO MEDICI—LEO'S DESIGNS ON PARMA, PIACENZA AND FERRARA—EXECUTION OF GIAMPOLO BAGLIONI, JUNE 1520—CHARLES COMES TO GERMANY—HIS CORONATION AT AACHEN—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION—DIET AT WORMS—EDICT OF WORMS.

The dawn of the Reformation was accompanied by the great struggle for the imperial election. Maximilian indefatigably strove to have his grandson elected King of the Romans, and in him securely to establish the empire of the Habsburgs. He hoped that some day the powerful Charles would reconquer Milan and French Burgundy and restore the splendour of the Empire. The States, in part bribed by France, in part fearing the preponderance of Charles's hereditary power, opposed him; it was also an unheard-of innovation to bestow a successor on a living but still uncrowned emperor. Maximilian consequently desired his own coronation. But since Francis I. barred the way to Rome, he requested the Pope to send a legate for the ceremony with the crown to Germany. His request shows how the mystic ideas concerning the Roman imperial coronation had vanished in the course of time, and how the empire had begun to sever itself from Rome and become Germanised. The Pope refused the request. The German ambassador at

Rome angrily said: "The Roman Court will not send the crown to the Emperor; well, a day will come when it will be only too willing, but no longer able to do so."[1] Without having obtained his wish near though he was to its realisation, Maximilian died at Wels in Austria on January 12, 1519; a monarch of imperishable memory, the German Emperor of the Renascence, standing on the confines of two ages, and combining romantic ideas with an entirely modern temperament; the last of the knights, one of the first politicians; the creator of one of the earliest national military systems, and praiseworthy for his endeavours to infuse unity and vigour into an empire which was on the eve of dissolution. Although unsuccessful in his attempts, he had endowed the imperial idea with new life, had re-awakened the warlike and national impulse in utterly degenerate Germany,[1] and, in the Netherlands, had provided the country with a bulwark against the encroachments of France.

Death of the Emperor Maximilian, Jan. 12, 1519.

Owing to the growth of the monarchical power among the territorial princes, the German imperium had been reduced to an empty shadow. Even under Maximilian the imperial power had been impotent and helpless. But this faded imperium might nevertheless confer European dominion on the prince, who was able to unite it with a powerful crown. The greatest monarchs now became can-

[1] Marco Minio to the Signory, Rome, January 11, 1519, in R. Brown, *Calendar — of Venice*, ii. n. 1135.—Letter of Silv. Gigli to Wolsey, August 26, 1519. *Arch. Stor. Append.*, i. (1842-44) p. 322. *Lett. di Principi*, i. 55 *sq.* Maximilian even wished to abdicate, retaining the kingdom of Naples for his life.

didates for the imperial dignity. Henry VIII., Francis I., Charles I., three young and highly-gifted men, the representatives of the European powers as a whole. Their rivalry in the contest signified that the Renascence of Caesarism was concerned. The fate of Europe hung on the question to which crown the imperial authority would fall—to France or the Spanish house of Habsburg. The two candidates were equally strong. Charles I. reigned over larger territories, but Francis I. ruled a flourishing monarchy, with whose united strength Charles's scattered realms—strangers to one another—could not cope.[1] Some of the states of the empire had already been won to the side of Francis by bribery. The Pope vacillated, and each claimant was too powerful; each had a foot in Italy. Although the papal influence on the imperial election no longer possessed its former weight, it was not without importance, and the candidates eagerly strove to gain the papal vote. The Pope's legate, the Cardinal of Gaeta, besought the princes of the empire assembled at Wesel not to elect Charles, since he was also King of Naples, and the union of the Neapolitan crown with the empire was contrary to the Constitution of Clement IV.[2] Leo indeed allowed it to appear that he supported the candidature of Francis I., and for this purpose sent Bishop Roberto Orsini to Germany; in reality however he only wished to embroil Charles

Candidates for the imperial power.

The Pope and the imperial election.

[1] Machiavelli has indicated the sources of French prosperity in his *Ritratti delle cose della Francia*, and the powerlessness of the Empire in the *Ritratti dell' Alamagna*, Opp. vi.

[2] Goldast, *Polit. Imp.*, p. 102 *sq.*

and Francis with each other, and to obtain the election of a third competitor, some petty German prince. Immediately after the diet of Augsburg Leo and Lorenzo Medici advised the King to renounce his candidature for the Empire, and to use his influence to procure the election of a weak German prince.[1] Leo thought of Frederick of Saxony; and several of the states were in his favour. But the noble Elector recognised the insufficiency of his power and declined the honour. The Pope also proposed the Elector of Brandenburg; nevertheless he perceived that Charles's election was inevitable. And as early as January 17, 1519, he had made a secret treaty with Charles, directed against the ascendancy of France.[2] For the moment the still unimportant personality of Charles may have seemed less dangerous than that of Francis, crowned as the latter was with victory. Charles appeared to be entirely ruled by the lord of Chievres, who leaned, it was supposed, towards France. Through Charles Leo might obtain many advantages: aggrandisement of the State of the Church, extension of the power

[1] The King feigned acquiescence: Cardinal Bibiena to Lorenzo, Paris, November 27, 1518. The Pope, certain of Charles's election, had already secretly prepared the bulls with regard to Naples. *Lettere di Principi*, i. 52, and other letters in the same collection. De Thou, *Hist.*, i. c. 9, says that these grapes were sour to France, *non tamen id agebat Gallus, ut ratio sui haberetur, quam ut excluso rege Catholico, cujus potentiam merito suspectam habebat, unus ex septemviris—imperator crearetur.*

[2] *Trattato Segreto tra Leone X. e Carlo I. di Spagna* communicated by Gino Capponi in the *Archiv. Stor. Ital.*, i. 379. A formal defensive and offensive alliance.

of the Curia in Spain and Germany, extirpation of the Lutheran heresy by means of the imperial authority.

The French sophisms which represented the nationality of the head of the Empire as a matter of indifference, or which appealed to the original Frankish dynasty—as if Charles the Great had been a Frenchman[1]—fell to pieces before the patriotism of the Germans. Germany would not see a Latin ascend the throne of the Salians and Hohenstaufens.[2] As prince of Burgundy and King of Spain, Charles, it is true, was a foreigner in the country. He was, however, grandson of Maximilian and descended from an illustrious imperial race. He had renewed and added to the promises made by his grandfather to the electors. The menacing power of the Turks, the waxing greatness of France, the impotence of the empire demanded a strong ruler; and Maximilian's grandson was thus elected at Frankfort on June 28, 1519.

Charles V. Emperor, June 28, 1519.

The election of Charles as emperor was the great turning-point in the history of Europe, when the

[1] For the speech of the French envoys (which was never delivered but only written, since they were not allowed to go to Frankfort), see Goldast, *ut supra*, p. 110. With regard to the intrigues concerning the election: Droysen, *Gesch. der preuss. Politik*, Berlin, 1857, ii. 2, 101; Rob. Rösler, *Die Kaiserwahl Carl's V.*, Vienna, 1868.

[2] Even the Swiss, says Guicciardini, xiii. 266, would not hear of a foreign emperor: *era grande la inclinazione dei popoli di Germania, perchè la dignità Imperiale non si rimovesse di quella nazione, anzi insino agli Svizzeri, mossi dall' amore della patria comune Germanica, avevano supplicato. . . .* At that time the Swiss still regarded themselves as Germans.

new political and ecclesiastical conditions were founded. This extraordinary man, conspicuous by his fortune and power, entered on his career noiselessly and with subtle foresight, until the arrogance and ambition of France and the policy of the Pope forced on him the idea of restoring the world-monarchy of the Caesars. This mediaeval dream fell to pieces, and then, after a terrible conflict between the nations, the modern reality of the European monarchies was revealed. Against his will and intention Charles V. was a revolutionary force. He helped the Reformation to destroy the Papacy. And then the Reformation destroyed his Caesarism. Those Latin hierarchies—the Empire and the Church—became for ever powerless. In place of the antagonism between these two powers, which had produced the Europe of the Middle Ages, henceforth appeared the informing principle of German and Roman culture, Catholicism and Protestantism, and the struggle between France and Germany for the hegemony in Europe. In this struggle the political life of Italy was consumed.

A furious war between Charles V. and his deeply offended rival was immediately in prospect. France, surrounded on the north and south by the Emperor's territories, Flanders and Spain, was too powerful to suffer a revival of the imperial authority on such foundations; and the Emperor was also too powerful to brook the greatness of France and her rule in Milan.

Many German patriots greeted Charles's succes-

sion to the Empire with great expectations.[1] Men foresaw that the new era would be a stormy one, that all the trivial conditions of history would disappear, and that European politics would assume colossal proportions. The sight of the imperial crown on the head of a prince of nineteen, who united Spain, Flanders, Naples and Sicily in one empire with Germany, and called himself "King of the Indian Isles and the Oceanic Continent," made this evident. There were idealists who hoped for the restoration of the Hohenstaufen ideal of empire; but cooler statesmen must have told themselves that from Charles V. the foundation of a German national monarchy was not to be expected. Rather might they fear the Romanisation of Germany at the hands of this Emperor.

Charles's adherents in Rome celebrated the event with festivals. The Spaniards and the Colonna paraded the streets with torches and shouts for "Spain and the Empire." The French ambassadors were as though stricken dead. The Pope himself was lost in reflection. The Spanish envoys, Don

[1] *Delituit nuper coeli sub vertice Phoebus,*
Occuluitque suum Daelius ipse jubar.
Emersit subito divinum Caesaris astrum,
Cumque novo rediit Caesare Phoebus ovans.
Ergo hoc jam constat, quo pacto regnet uterque,
Phoebus apud superos, Caesar in orbe regit!

Thus wrote the Humanist Count Nuenar in consequence of the solar eclipse, which took place shortly before the election; see Goldast, *ut supra*, p. 120. A prophecy reached Venice from England in December 1519, to the effect that Charles would destroy Rome and Florence, and subjugate Europe and the East. See R. Brown, *Calendar of Venice*, ii. 1301.

Luis de Carroz and Don Jerome Vich, hurried to him to persuade him to break with France and adhere to the Emperor. But to Leo, Charles's election, which he was obliged to approve, was nothing but a humiliation and the overthrow of the Roman system. It destroyed the balance of power. Charles's imperium must exercise an overpowering pressure on Italy, and sooner or later draw the Papacy within its sphere of influence. The conditions of the Papacy were once more as they had been in the time of Frederick II., the Lord of Naples and Sicily.

The recognition of Charles's election announced Leo's withdrawal from his French alliances, a step which had been facilitated by the death of his nephew. Lorenzo died on May 4, 1519, six days after his French wife, who had given birth to Catarina Medici on April 13.[1] The legitimate branch of Cosimo's family (in the male line) thus became extinct, since only Lorenzo's bastard son Alessandro remained. This fact gave the Florentines grounds to hope for the recovery of their civic independence.[2] Machiavelli advised the Pope to restore liberty, although under Medicean supre-

Death of Lorenzo Medici, May 4, 1519.

[1] See "*Die Jugend Catarina's de' Medici*," by A. von Reumont, Berlin, 1856. Her grandmother Alfonsina Orsini, with whom the orphan at first lived, died as early as February 7, 1520. The inscription on her tomb in S. Maria del Popolo, is given in Forcella, *Iscrizion.*, i. 336. Maddalena Cibò and the young Cardinal Lodovico Rossi also died in the same year.

[2] Alessandro's parentage remained obscure; he was also believed to be the son of Cardinal Giulio. While in him grew up the first Duke of Florence, the first Grand-duke of Tuscany was born on June 11, 1519—Cosimo, son of Giovanni Medici (*della bande nere*).

macy, to Florence.[1] But immediately after Lorenzo's death Leo sent thither as regent Cardinal Ludovico Rossi, and then Giulio Medici. He regarded Florence as the family property of his house. He annexed the duchy of Urbino to the Church, merely presenting the little county of Montefeltre and San Leo to the Florentines as indemnity for the expenses of the war with Urbino; Sinigaglia he bestowed on Giammaria Varano.

Leo might compare his fate with that of Augustus. The nephews, whom he had intended to found Medicean kingdoms in Italy, had both passed away. But for Michael Angelo, who, by their tombs, has rendered them immortal, their very names would now be forgotten. Nevertheless, if we may accept the opinion of his best friends, Lorenzo's death was a fortunate occurrence for the Pope. Had this by no means incapable nephew lived longer, and had he been the man of Machiavelli's patriotic hopes, he would probably have followed in the steps of Caesar Borgia in the State of the Church. His death, however, now freed the Pope from a thousand embarrassments, above all from nepotism.[2] Thus was the State of the Church saved from the oppression of the Medici; but these last shreds of territory remained a perpetual source of wars and convulsions. No Pope was any longer

[1] *Discorso sopra il riformare lo stato di Firenze fatto ad istanza di Papa Leone X.*, Opp. vi. Did he really still believe in the possibility of a Republic of Florence with the consent of the Medici?

[2] *Il che ci dà speranza, che sua Beat. si possa ancora veder tale, quale si sperò che dovesse essere il giorno che fu creata.* Canossa to Bibiena, Rome, May 14, 1519. *Lettere di Principi*, i. 67.

able to extricate himself from the fatal labyrinth, in which the secular aims of Sixtus IV., Alexander VI. and Julius II. had involved him.

Secular politics, the State of the Church, the position in Italy remained the corner-stone of the Papacy. Standing between the two great rivals, Leo X. vacillated to and fro, making promises to both, flattering both, playing one off against the other, while from the time of Charles's election all the powers of Europe were engaged in forming alliances and counter-alliances. It was said that falsehood was a characteristic trait of the Medici, and that Leo X. openly professed the doctrine that in forming an alliance with any one a man ought not to cease to treat with the adversary.[1] The moving spirit of these arts was Cardinal Giulio Medici, whom as Pope they were to bring to a miserable end. Leo was ceaselessly occupied with the idea of uniting Parma, Piacenza and Ferrara to the State of the Church. War, against which Venice urgently warned him, was the necessary means, and he was tortured by doubts as to whether this war was to be waged in alliance with the King or the Emperor. In 1519 (the month is uncertain) he held negotiations with Francis I.; he sanctioned the conquest of Naples by a French Prince; the borderland and Gaeta were however to be annexed to the Church. In return the King promised to lend his aid for the

Vacillating policy of Leo X.

[1] *Certo questa casa de' Medici ha sempre avuto peculiare disposizione a questo* (scil. *alla sospizione*); *e dicesi che papa Leone soleva dire che quando aveva fatto lega con alcuno, non si doveva restare di trattar coll' altro principe opposto*: Report of Antonio Soriano (A.D. 1531) in Albéri, Ser. ii., iii., p. 290.

recovery of Ferrara.[1] The treaty however was not concluded, for Leo was also carrying on negotiations with Charles, from whom, through his relations with France, he hoped to extort still greater concessions. And on these he made the investiture of Naples dependent.[2]

At the end of the year 1519, as Duke Alfonso lay ill, Leo made a cunning attempt to seize Ferrara, which was to be the object of an attack from Bologna, made by troops under Bishop Alessandro Fregoso. Alfonso was only saved by the watchfulness of Federigo Gonzaga. The Duke even accused the Pope of plotting assassination; a year later it is said that he was only saved by the fidelity of a German captain.[3]

More success attended a plot against the tyrant of Perugia, made by Leo in the spring of 1520. The iniquitous Giampolo Baglione had long served with distinction with the Venetians, and on the death of Julius II. had again seized his native city. The motive that first induced the Pope to proceed against him is not clear. This Leo did with the same artifices that he had formerly used against Cardinal Petrucci. Giampolo had promised his daughter Elisabetta in marriage to Camillo Orsini, and had made magnificent preparations for the wedding at

Fall of Giampolo Baglione.

[1] *Calendar of Letters*, ed. Bergenroth, vol ii. n. 267.

[2] See the careful analysis of these matters in Giuseppe de Leva, *Storia documentata di Carlo V.*, ii. 12 *sq.*, a work which does honour to the Italian literature of the present day.

[3] Muratori has no doubt of Leo's murderous intentions: *Antich. Estensi*, ii. 322 *sq.*; he appeals, indeed, to the authority of Guicciardini as guarantee.

Castiglione del Lago. His son Orazio had arrived with the bridegroom from Rome, his other son Malatesta from Venice to attend the ceremony, when news was received that papal troops were marching against Perugia, and the guests hastily dispersed. Giampolo returned to Perugia, where he collected troops. It is incomprehensible how the man, who had formerly escaped the snares of the Borgia, allowed himself to be entrapped in those of the Pope. Provided with a safe-conduct from Leo, and trusting to the Orsini, he went to Rome. Arriving here on March 17, he was told that the Pope was in S. Angelo; he hastened into the open grave and never left it again. The confession which he made on the rack must have revealed hideous mysteries. On June 11 he was beheaded and buried in S. Maria Traspontina. His sons fled to the kingdom of Naples, and thence to Venice. Their uncle Gentile Baglione was made head of the government in Perugia.[1]

Charles meanwhile was in Spain, where the states of Castile and Aragon were already in revolt against their Flemish sovereign. He was in a dangerous

[1] The trial remains a mystery. *Non si sa la causa*, says Teseo Alfani, *Mem. Perug. Arch. Stor.*, xvi. p. 2, 289. See Vermiglioli Battista, *Vita di Malatesta Baglioni*, Perugia, 1839, p. 35. Giampolo's wife was a Roman lady, Ippolita Conti. A *Lamento del Sig. Giov. Paolo Baglioni con il pianto d'Italia ed il lamento di Rodi in tre Capitoli* was printed in Venice.—Leo X. also banished Lod. Freducci, son of Oliverotto, from Fermo; he fell in battle in March 1520. He caused the tyrant Amadeo of Recanati to be hanged; Rencio Mancini, who harassed Rome with his robberies, to be beheaded; the forger Sebastiano of Treviso to be burnt. Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 100.

position; peace was necessary to secure him in his principalities. He must find allies; above all must gain the Pope to his side. In spite of the agitation in the country, he left Spain on May 20, 1520, having installed Cardinal Adrian (of Utrecht) as regent. His intention was to go to Flanders, and then to Germany. But first he desired to win the adhesion of the vain Henry VIII., the husband of his aunt Catherine of Aragon, and thus to render innocuous the conference which the English King proposed to hold with Francis I. at Calais. He met Henry at Dover and attained his object. By means of pensions and promises Wolsey was entirely won to the Emperor's side. Charles then proceeded to Germany, and on October 22, 1520, was crowned at Aachen. From Cologne he convoked his first diet, which was to meet at Worms on January 6, 1521.[1]

Charles V. crowned at Aachen, Oct. 22, 1520.

Through its length and breadth Germany was astir with the commotion in the Church. The Pope had pronounced the excommunication against Luther on June 15, 1520. This overhasty bull had been demanded and obtained in Rome by Eck, who, in the capacity of apostolic nuncio, brought it to Germany, where it was published by him and the legates Aleander and Caracciolo.[2]

Luther under the papal ban.

It produced no effect beyond stirring the flames of German revolt into a raging fire. The derision of the freethinkers laughed it to scorn; it was stifled

[1] Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, xi. 47.

[2] Bull *Exurge Domine*, Harduin, ix., 1891, ill-written in mannered style by Pietro Accolti, Cardinal of Ancona; perhaps the most remarkable and at the same time the most impotent bull in the history of the Papacy.

in the cry for liberty. Luther appealed to a council. He issued two vigorous publications, the first in August, "To the Christian nobility of the German nation," the second, "Concerning the Babylonian captivity of the Church," in October. They took immediate effect. An intellectual tempest surged through Germany. And never has any nation experienced a like moral agitation; never since the rise of Christianity has any revolution so transformed the life of an entire people. Luther denied the entire legal constitution, the entire dogmatic system of the Catholic Church, its rites and its priesthood, its patrimony and possessions; he demanded the restoration of evangelical Christianity, the restitution of the confiscated rights of the congregation, and for Germany a national Church with a primate as head. On December 10 the brave man threw the bull of excommunication into the bonfire at Wittenberg. He thus severed himself for ever from the Papacy. From this day the German people consecrated themselves to war against all tyranny of conscience; here they were called to assume the spiritual leadership of the world. It was the same earnest and devout nation that had defeated the corrupt Roman Empire and erected the German imperium, that had exalted and safeguarded the Papacy in Rome, that for centuries had shed its blood in Italy in defence of the great ideal of culture of the Christian republic. In its indignation it now burst the strong chains of history, which from the time of Charles the Great had bound it to Rome and her degenerate Papacy.

He comes forward as the energetic opponent of the Papacy.

The German nation, the first champion of intellectual liberty.

The great reformer had become a national force. In earlier times the most gifted of all German emperors had suffered a tragic overthrow in his struggle with the Papacy, because he had removed the seat of war to another soil from that of his own nation. A son of the German people now triumphed in the same contest, the soil of his fatherland endowing him with the strength of Antaeus. In Luther was embodied the whole moral nature of Germany. In the heart of this one man—the most precious jewel of the nation's history—rested the fate of the German people. The Pope's nuncio wrote that an army would not have been able to tear this monk from his native land and bring him to Rome. And so curiously were circumstances linked together, that Luther became a lever of international politics. Maximilian had previously said: "Luther may become useful to me against these enemies (the popes)"; and Charles held the same idea. The young Emperor stood at this time in active correspondence with the Pope; for Sforza's former chancellor Girolamo Morone and Don Juan Manuel, imperial envoy in Rome, were striving to induce Leo to conclude with Charles a league, with the object of expelling the French from Milan.[1] The Emperor wished to reinstate Francesco Maria Sforza, brother of the

Negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope.

[1] Manuel entered on his office on April 11, 1520, on which day Biagio Baroni de' Martinelli, Master of Ceremonies, notes: *Ill. Dom. Johannes Orator Ser^mi. Caroli electi Imp. intravit urbem per portam S. Petri—qui venit pro confirmatione electionis Imperatoris.* (*Diar. Blasii de Cesena*, MS. Barberini, n. 1102.)—See also Molini, *Docum. di Stor. Ital.*, i. 79.

dead Massimiliano, on the ducal throne, and was ready to purchase the valuable alliance of the Pope with Parma, Piacenza, even Ferrara, and finally with the extirpation of heresy in Germany.

Arrival of Charles V. at Worms.

On January 3, 1521, Leo published the anathema against Luther and his adherents.[1] In February Charles V. came to the memorable diet of the Empire at Worms, here to appear before his people for the first time. They awaited him with impatience; they anxiously longed to be relieved from intolerable conditions, both in church and state. When Charles advanced to the Rhine, the leaders of the national movement, Hutten and Sickingen, exhorted him to place himself at the head of the nation, to raise Germany again to be the first power in the world, to resume the war with his two great enemies France and Rome, when he would see the whole German race enthusiastically rally round his banner. The Germans at this time resembled the Italians of Dante's and Petrarch's time, when they ardently invoked the emperors to become the Saviours of their disunited country. Maximilian's grandson had little of the German in him, although his aspect was of German type—a young man of medium height, pale, with an open forehead and blue eyes, and a defiantly projecting under lip, laconic and melancholy; his phlegmatic features betrayed no feeling.[2] Nothing unless perhaps his formal and silent demeanour

[1] Bull *Cum sicut*, Raynald, n. 1.

[2] William Bradford, *Corresp. of the Emp. Chas. V.*, London, 1850, p. 342. He had been epileptic in childhood.

revealed the great statesman. He had as yet formed no greater design than that of securing the dominion of the territories he owned. His further tasks were to quell the anarchy of the constitution and the revolution in the Church in Germany, and to curb the formidable power of the Turk in the East, the restless ambition of the French in the West. France incited him to war. He desired hostilities, but in alliance with the same Pope, whom young Germany exhorted him to abandon. The legal principle of the Empire, the possession of his Catholic territories, his private convictions separated him for ever from the Reformation.[1] That he did not place himself at its head was fortunate for the cause, for in the hands of the Emperor the Reformation would have become false to the principle of its being. In terrible wars with the imperial and the papal power, it had to fight for existence and to remain the independent property of the people, whose achievement it was. It tore Germany asunder, since apart from the Emperor it could not become entirely national; it opened the territorial frontiers to France, and through the Thirty Years War exhausted for a long period the energies of Germany. It was, however, the restlessly progressive spirit of the Reformation, ever renewing all the vital forces of the nation, that after the growth of three centuries brought the political

[1] He expressed himself as to his duties as a Catholic in the violent sentence pronounced against Luther on April 19, 1521, which he submitted to the States at Worms: *Polizza di Carlo V. Imp.* in *Lettere di Principi*, i. 92.

reformation of Germany to completion in a national empire, the political idea and power of which are greater and more moral than the colossal world-wide empire of Charles V. had been.

When the Emperor, accompanied by the legate Aleander, arrived at Worms, he was already prepared to sacrifice Luther. For his ambassador in Rome had informed him of the approaching conclusion of the league with the Pope. On April 16, 1521, Luther arrived with an imperial safe-conduct. The fanatical Aleander demanded that he should be placed forthwith under the ban of the Empire, but the States demanded that he should be granted a hearing. The 17th and 18th of April, when Luther, in the Cathedral of Worms and in presence of the Emperor, princes and states, gave evidence of the invincibility of a morally independent man, are days of brightest splendour in the history of the German intellect, triumphs of imperishable memory in the history of mankind.[1]

Luther before the Diet of Worms, April 17, 18, 1521.

The Edict of Worms.

On May 26 the Emperor signed the declaration which placed Luther under the ban of the Empire, an edict couched in most immoderate terms, commanding the extermination of the greatest man in Europe as a Lucifer incarnate.[2] This document was not laid before the States, the majority of whose representatives had already left. It conse-

[1] The remembrance of the event was revived in Worms in 1867, when the great monument to Luther was unveiled in presence of the King of Prussia, at a time when, by means of this Protestant power, the German Empire was approaching its restoration.

[2] Raynald, n. 26. The edict was purposely ante-dated May 8.

quently lacked all judicial form. Luther was burnt in effigy in Rome; people believed that the affair was ended. It was chiefly owing to this edict that Leo resolved to abandon France, and openly to ally himself with the Emperor.[1] And yet the Emperor was perfectly aware that Luther's ruin would deprive him of a most powerful instrument against the fickle Pope.[2] The times of Huss were over in Germany; the edict of Worms remained a dead letter. Safe in the solitude of the Wartburg, the Reformer allowed the fury of the storm to pass by.

The history of the Reformation, that is to say, of the Renascence of Christianity and the reconstitution of the civilisation by the genius of the German people, does not belong to the history of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages. Only at its confines stands the great figure of Luther, lighted by the after-glow of past imperial times. The long series of those Ghibellines, extending from Henry IV. and Arnold of Brescia down to the German monk, finds in him its historic result. The Reformation theoretically and practically put an end to the universal power of the Papacy, and closed the Middle Ages as an epoch in the world's history. Such an epoch, in fact, always occurs when the human race discovers one of the great vital principles, which are as simple as the laws

[1] Sleidan, iii. 67.

[2] *Ma la verità fu, che, conoscendo che il Papa temeva molto di questa dottrina di Lutero, lo volle tenere in questo freno*: Franc. Vettori, p. 332.

of nature. When we survey the development of the Christian Church from the time of the Apostolic Creed down to that of Leo X., we have before us the most consecutive and greatest work of the human intellect; the deposit of a process of thought continued uninterruptedly for centuries; the colossal product of reason, knowledge, and feeling, of the genius and delusions of nations and ages; an incomprehensible system of uses, formulas, mysteries, and symbols; of clear ideas and dark dreams; of rights and usurpations; of truths and inventions; of a thousand laws, ordinances, and societies; together forming a moral whole, revolving round a mystic centre, of such immensity that this ecclesiastical Kosmos finds no limit even in the sphere of heaven itself. After 1500 years of the growth and existence of this marvellous creation, the German intellect made the discovery that without ceasing to be deeply religious and a Christian, a man might dispense with this vast and formal apparatus for salvation. This was the greatest discovery that had been made since the beginning of the Church. The Reformation simplified religious relations by rooting them deep in the conscience. It emancipated Christian thought from its materialisation in the Middle Ages. It purified the ritual, the doctrines, and the constitution of the Church from the excrescences that had been planted on it by mythology, scholasticism and hierarchical ambition. It found Christianity a palimpsest, a thousand times written and re-written over in the course of centuries, and restored its original contents—the

Catholicism and the Reformation.

almost obliterated Gospel. It released from the ban of a supernatural authority human reason, the conscience, the rights of the individual, knowledge, and the State.[1] It did what at the time showed an admirable courage; it severed itself from the greatest institution in the world, from the Papacy, in which it recognised only an ecclesiastical-political despotism and the enemy of the spiritual progress of mankind. With the idea that Europe was only a State of the Roman Church on a large scale, it also shattered for ever the concentrated absolutism of the Latin world-system. The alliance of the Emperor and the Pope was in vain.

The sight of the ruin of the most revered institution of the world still fills with sorrow those who, amid the changes of time, claim an eternal existence for the terrestrial form of universal ideals. They fail to understand that it is something subject to change in the ceaseless progress of the historic spirit, and to acknowledge that in relation to this progress, the entire Christian Church will hereafter appear merely as only one of the many forms of development of the human race. If they complain of the violent methods of the Reformation, in that instead of renewing the great Mother Church, it broke it by main force, they ought to show how the

[1] Prierias, defending Indulgences, thus expresses the absolutely irreconcilable opposition: "We have not the authority of Scripture, but we have the authority of the Roman Church and the Roman Popes, which is *the greater of the two.*" Passage quoted by Lord Acton, *Zur Geschichte des Vatican. Conciles*, Munich, 1871, p. 39.

task of reforming the Church in head and members was compatible with the omnipotence of an infallible Pope, and how the unity of the Christian republic of Charles the Great could be upheld in the age of Charles V., when the fundamental law of modern life, the liberty of conscience, had been discovered.[1] From the period of her struggle for existence, when in alliance with the territorial monarchy, she threatened to stagnate in a Protestant papal Church, the Reformation, after many errors, issued victorious with the principle of toleration. And this principle, united with the liberty of enquiring thought in general, won for the ideas of reform the sovereignty over illimitable provinces of intellectual life, and the world has thus been morally renewed. The entire great movement of Europe during the last 300 years is the effect of the Reformation. From its fundamental principle emanated its unbounded capacity for culture, happily also its ecclesiastical weakness, its speedy historic dissolution into separate churches. As an ecclesiastical form, Protestantism is merely an imperfect phase in the religious life of the world, in the new shape of which it will be

[1] In a very remarkable book, *Kirche und Kirchen, Papsttum und Kirchenstadt*, p. 41, Döllinger says: "The delusion that, when it is not deterred by fear, the Papal chair arrogates to itself and exercises a despotic and arbitrary power is so universally diffused, especially throughout Germany and England; it is so customary to lay stress on the unbounded character of this power and on the defencelessness and state of outlawry in which isolated churches and persons find themselves when opposed to it, that I cannot refrain from refuting this error with some decisive testimonies." This was written by the great Catholic scholar, without any prevision of the future, in 1861. How curious are the ways and demonstrations of history!

absorbed as soon as its mission is ended. This task was and still is the rational transformation of the hierarchical and dogmatic mind, a task which by its continuous onward progress must inevitably be accomplished.[1] The great drama of the Reformation is not yet ended. The hostile camps in which it placed the world, in order to beget its new life, are still at bitter warfare. If the result of their final reconciliation in some novel universal form still remains an insoluble mystery, it is at all events clear that it can never again be that of a Catholic papal Church.

Attitude of the Italians towards the Reformation.

Owing above all to the political principle which it contained, the German Reformation necessarily exercised a great influence on the Romans and Italians. While the temporal power of the Church lay like an incubus on their country, the Italians saw how Germany renounced the Papacy, and abolished ecclesiastical feudalism, and how princes secularised entire territories. On the other side of the Alps they saw realised the ideas of Savonarola and Machiavelli, and beheld the rise of a new political idea founded on the elimination of the feudal-ecclesiastical powers. This Ghibelline theory was more intelligible to the Italians than the doctrine of Justification and other theological questions. Their greatest statesmen hated the temporal Papacy as the curse of their country, and the priesthood as the source of its moral corruption. From the school

[1] That which the Protestant power of Prussia was in the ancient Empire is Protestantism in the ancient Church; the young and vigorous offshoot of a magnificent but decaying tree.

of Machiavelli, Guicciardini and Vettori emanated for the Italians their national idea of the state, which in our own days has been formulated by Cavour.[1] Guicciardini lamented that he, the "natural enemy" of the State of the Church, had been forced by circumstances to serve the Popes. "The position," he said, "which I held with some Popes obliged me from personal considerations to devote myself to their greatness, otherwise I would have loved Luther as myself, not in order to sever myself from the traditional doctrines of Christendom, but to see this horde of blasphemers kept within their bounds, that is to say, to see them either without vice or without authority." He repeats this in another passage and says: "From the nature of things I have desired the fall of the State of the Church, and fate has compelled me to strive for the greatness of two popes; apart from this I would love Luther more than I love myself, for I should hope that his sect would overthrow or lame the wings of this godless tyranny of priests."[2] "Three things," said the same statesman, "I should like to see before my death, but I doubt whether I shall live to see even one of them: a well-ordered republic in Florence, the deliverance of Italy from the barbarians, and the deliverance of the world from these infamous

Guicciardini's admissions.

[1] See Canestrini's Introduction to the *Lettere e istruzioni* of Guicciardini in the time of his *luogotenenza* under Clement VII., Florence, 1863.

[2] *Amerei più Martino Lutero che me medesimo, perchè spererei che la sua setta potessi ruinare o almeno torpare le ale a questa scelerata tyrannide de' preti.* Opere inedite, i.; *Ricordi politici*, n. 28, and other passages.

priests."[1] But Italy, possessing neither the vigour nor maturity for the ideas of political reform, allowed the great example of Germany to pass by unheeded. The sufferings and exertions of three centuries and a half were still required before the idea of the reform of the State gained sufficient strength to sever theology from politics, to abolish the State of the Church, to deliver Rome from the papal power, and to transform the city into the capital of a free and united Italy. And this miracle Italy owes to the force developed by Protestant Germany.

6. League between Charles V. and Leo X.—War in Lombardy—Conquest of Milan—Death of the Pope, December 1521.

On the same day (May 8, 1521) on which was dated the edict that placed Luther under the ban of the Empire, Don Juan Manuel signed in Rome the draft of the alliance between the Pope and Charles. Its articles were as follows: Milan and Genoa were to be taken from France, and restored to their lawful government under the supremacy of Charles, their "true prince." Francesco Maria Sforza was to be reinstated as Duke in Milan; Antoniotto Adorno as Doge in Genoa. The services of 10,000 Swiss were to be enlisted for 200,000 ducats, half of which

Alliance between Leo X. and Charles V., May 8, 1521.

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 236 (between 1525 and 1526). These are notes in his diaries. As is well known, he gave himself to the Pope as an instrument to aid in the subjugation of his native city, and was secretly ashamed of his conduct.

sum was to be paid by the Pope. Charles promised on the expulsion of the French to give Parma and Piacenza to the Church and to help it to reconquer Ferrara. He took Florence and the Medici under his protection; he promised to persecute with all his might all the enemies of the Catholic faith and the Sacred Chair. The Pope on the other hand promised to invest Charles with Naples, to crown him Emperor and to aid him in the war with Venice. The option of joining the league was to be given both to the Swiss and the King of England.[1] The conclusion of this treaty was the work of Cardinal Giulio Medici; the Emperor promised him as reward the protectorate of Spain, a bishopric, and a revenue of 10,000 ducats.[2]

The main point was to buy Swiss soldiers. The party in Lucerne who were in the pay of France had already, in accordance with an earlier treaty, empowered Francis to raise troops; the Cardinal of Sitten, however, the indefatigable agitator in behalf of Papal aims in his native land, succeeded in forming a similar contract in Zurich. Zwingli, in whom Switzerland had found her reformer, protested against this disgraceful traffic in human beings. "To good purpose," said the noble citizen, "do these cardinals wear wide mantles and red hats; shake them and ducats fall out; twist them and thy blood

[1] Theiner, *Cod. Diplom. Domin. Temp.*, iii. n. 432.

[2] At first the Cardinal behaved as if he would not receive any favour from the Emperor; then he accepted it "with the utmost gratitude" and with both hands. *Calendar of Letters*, ii. n. 346. Manuel to the Emperor, Rome, July 13.

will run out of them."[1] The Swiss agreed to provide the Pope, who paid them a tribute of 35,000 ducats, with some thousands of mercenaries, and this was decisive for the war. The envoys of Venice still strove to preserve peace, and to change the Pope's determination; at the end of May, indeed, Leo again vacillated.

The Pope hires Swiss mercenaries.

Manuel informed the Emperor of fresh negotiations with the Count of Carpi, at this time the ambassador of France, and even advised him to frighten Leo with the threat of a Council. The Pope however summoned resolution, and on May 29 signed the treaty of alliance.[2]

The Venetians were surprised that Leo, who had hitherto kept the imperial power far from Italy, should now bring Charles into the country. They might reproach him for preferring war to peace, in order that he might increase the State of the Church by the addition of one or two cities. The Pope was in no way forced to make war, but it is probable that Charles V. was. His rival stirred up his enemies in Flanders, as also in Navarre, and caused Navarre, which was undefended, to be invaded by André de Foix. When the knowledge of this attack reached the Emperor, he exclaimed, "God be my witness, that I did not begin this war; France wishes to make me greater than I am." To the Venetian ambassador Gasparo Contarini in Mainz he said: "Either the King will crush me, or I shall become

[1] Joh. Jac. Hottinger, *Gesch. der Eidgenossen während der Zeiten der Kirchentrennung*, i. 57.

[2] *Calendar of Letters*, etc., ii. n. 337, 338.

France challenges the Emperor to war.

the ruler of Europe."[1] France, in fact, was then challenging the growing imperial authority of Charles V. to war on grounds similar to those put forward when, in our own days, it challenged Germany; a power, which under the guidance of Prussia, was again rising to greatness. It was at Pampelona in Navarre that Ignatius Loyola was wounded by a French shot on May 20, 1521. And thus this terrible Spaniard is first seen in the background, in the very month when Charles V. placed Luther under the ban of the Empire. The diabolical power was growing that was destined to avert the Reformation from the Latin races and the Vatican, and to prevent its becoming an entirely national work in Germany.

Ignatius Loyola appears on the scene.

In Italy also the French made the first hostile movement. In Reggio, where Guicciardini was lieutenant-general of the Pope, Morone assembled several exiles from Milan, and with them concerted a plan for seizing it and other cities of the duchy. This conspiracy induced Marshal Lescun, Thomas de Foix, a brother of Lautrec, the governor of Milan, to make a sudden attack on Reggio. It failed on June 23. The Pope hereupon declared that the State of the Church had been attacked, and announced the league with the Emperor. He excommunicated the King of France and released his subjects from the oath of fealty, unless Francis laid down his arms within a given time and surrendered Parma and Piacenza.[2] The allied army of the Emperor and the Pope was commanded by

The Pope excommunicates the King of France.

[1] Giuseppe de Leva, ii. 78.

[2] Rousset, ii., p. i. 71. Bull of September 4, 1521.

Prospero Colonna, under whom stood Fernando d'Avalos, the young Marquis of Pescara. The papal general was Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua, and Cardinal Medici was legate for the war. The allies first endeavoured to take Parma, but Alfonso relieved the city by an expedition against Modena. The Duke of Ferrara, having learnt the contents of the treaty between Leo and Charles, seceded to the French side; thus he, the powerless Bentivogli and the Venetians were the only allies left to Francis I. The King at once recognised that he had been over-hasty in beginning the war. In vain at Calais in August he sought to invoke the intervention of England; England on the contrary formed an alliance against him with Charles at Bruges on August 25. Harassed in his own country, the King was unable to send auxiliaries to Italy, while 10,000 Swiss crossed the Po to march against Milan. In the midst of these troops were seen two cardinals Sitten and Giulio Medici, clad in purple vestments and with silver crosses carried before them—a satire on the Christian religion. As soon as the generals of the league had united their forces to the Swiss, Lautrec, defeated near Vaprio, could make no further resistance. He retired to Milan, burnt the suburbs, caused suspected citizens to be executed as Ghibellines, and roused the indignation of the unfortunate people, who summoned their liberators —themselves fresh scourges. On November 19, 1521, Prospero and Pescara drove the Venetians from the walls of Milan, when Marshal retired to Como. The Cardinal

The allies conquer Milan.

entered the undefended city during the night.[1] Most of the cities of the duchy made submission; Cremona, the fortresses in Milan, Novara, Arona and Alessandria alone were still held by the French.

At his villa of Magliana, on November 24, Leo received the welcome news that Milan had been taken. "That is more to me," said he, "than my Papacy." Thus were political and military successes the most important events, as they were the highest joys of the popes of this age; to pitiful territorial relations had shrivelled the moral supremacy of the Church over the world. It was said that Cardinal Medici was to be Duke of Milan, and Sforza Cardinal in his place.[2] Greatly excited, Leo returned to the city on November 25; the people streamed forth to meet him with olive branches in their hands, and he was greeted with bands of music. The festivals of rejoicing were prolonged for three days. The Pope wished to summon a Consistory, but excitement made him ill, and he even deferred the thanksgiving procession to S. Maria del Popolo.

Fall of Piacenza and Parma.

Soon afterwards he heard that Piacenza had fallen, and that his troops had reduced the Duke of Ferrara to extremities. On the defeat of the French, Alfonso found himself in desperate straits. By the relief of Parma he had challenged the allies, and might expect that, in accordance with the treaty, they would now attack him. Leo excommunicated him again and

[1] Galeatius Capella, lib. i. p. 1262. Martin du Bellay, i. lib. 2.

[2] Paris de Grassis, iv. 460. Medici's revenues amounted to 50,000 ducats.

laid the interdict on Ferrara. The Duke entrenched himself in his capital, resolved to perish with honour, and in a manifesto explained to the world the reprehensible means which the Pope had employed to effect his overthrow.[1]

On December 1 Leo heard that Parma had also been won; on the same day he died. His sudden end gave rise to unfounded suspicions of poison.[2] His enemies rejoiced; the well-known epigram on Boniface VIII. was applied to him: "Like a fox thou camest to the throne, like a lion hast thou ruled, like a dog hast thou died."[3] All who hated Leo for his treachery, all whom he had deceived by his sale of offices and his financial tricks, heaped satires on his memory.[4] Accounts from

Death of Leo X., Dec. 1, 1521.

[1] In November 1521 Alfonso had a Latin and Italian letter to Charles V. specifying his accusations, printed in Ferrara and Venice. On January 6, 1522 (after the Pope's death), the Roman Curia published an answer. Extracts from both documents in Ant. Cappelli, *Lettere di Lod. Ariosto*, Bol., 1866, Introd., p. 72 and Appendix. The Archives of Modena do not contain the original records of the case.

[2] Jovius and Paris believed in it. On December 4 the Pope's chamberlain, Marchese Bernabo Malaspina, and others were imprisoned, but they were all quickly released. *Diar. Blasii de Cesena*, MS.

[3] The statement, that the Pope died without receiving the Communion, is, however, a mistake. Castiglione to the Marchese of Mantua, Rome, December 2, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives): *Il papa si confessò heri devotissimamente e stava in termine che ne li medici ne altri pensavano che S. Stà dovesse morir; almen questi dì: in un subito gli manchò la virtù, e cosi se ne andò*—on December 3: *Le ultime parole sue per molto spasio non furono altro che dir' Jesus, Jesus, Jesus.*

[4] *Per la morte del papa furono fatti infiniti sonetti e versi ed epigrammi contro di lui, e posti sopra il suo deposito*: Report of Luigi Gradenigo. The *Vita Anonyma* says: *promissa enim repos-*



Rome at the time assert that innumerable persons, creditors of the Pope, were ruined. The Bank of the Bini claimed 200,000 ducats, the house of Gaddi 32,000, the Bank of the Strozzi was threatened with failure. Ricasoli had lent the Pope 10,000 ducats; Cardinal Salviati, who had renounced his benefices in order to raise money out of them, 80,000; the Cardinal of SS. Quattro Coronati and Armellino each claimed 150,000 ducats. "In short, there was not one of Leo's servants or favourites that was not ruined; it was in truth strange that in regard to the advantage of the Sacred Chair he considered neither favourites nor friends; we may well be astonished when we see how impoverished and dispersed is his family."[1] The apostolic exchequer was so completely drained that there was no money to pay for the funeral tapers of the most magnificent of popes, and it was found necessary to make use of the candles that had served at the obsequies of Cardinal Riario. The poets, artists and scholars, the Tuscans in Rome and a thousand others who had enjoyed Leo's liberality, wept him with bitter

centib. solitus erat respondere, non memineram me alteri promisisse: quamobrem quamplurimos bonos ac magnos viros saepius delusos in acerrimum sui odium impulit, quod diu occultum gravissimum in mortis ejus tempus erupit; hinc potissimum tot libelli in eum conscripti, tot acerba maledicta in eum passim jactabantur, ac foeda epitaphia quamplurima vulgo lectitabantur.

[1] Letter from Rome, December 5, 1521, anonymous: M. Sanuto, vol. xxxii. fol. 161. Nothing was heard but laments: *et tamen tutti piangono la sua bontà!*—Letter of December 21 (fol. 195): *non è mai morto papa cum peggior fama—frate mariano buffone li racomandava l'anima.* Many satires were made on the ruined courtiers.

tears. He was esteemed fortunate because he died just after receiving tidings of a victory. His most ardent wish, that of driving the French from Italy and of recovering Parma and Piacenza to the Church, had in fact been attained. Whether this success, which the next fortunes of war might reverse, was great enough to glorify the last hours of a pope, may well be doubted both by Christians and philosophers.

To contemporaries, and also to posterity, Leo X. appeared not only the most magnificent, but the most fortunate of popes. And yet even a contemporary ventured to see in him the figure of a mortal who had been in truth most unlucky. An incurable malady, exile, imprisonment, enemies, a conspiracy of cardinals, wars, lastly the loss of all his nearest relations and friends darkened the joyous days of the Pope.[1] Could Valerianus have foreseen the importance of the German Reformation, he would have had still stronger grounds for his melancholy opinion; for Leo X. not only saw the rise of this Reformation, but by his abuse of the papal power and the pagan luxury of his court actually provoked it.

In Leo honourable qualities were united to faults of frivolity, falsehood and heartlessness. His shrewdness was not based on manly strength of character. His nature, which was planned on a large scale, was devoid of moral earnestness, depth and originality; his intellect sparkled with all the varied iridescence of the Renascence culture of his time,

Character of Leo X.

[1] Valerianus, *De litterator. infelicitate*, i. 13.



which lent it brilliance. His Machiavellianism emanated from the source of the temporal power of the popes, with which the moral virtues of the priest have never been compatible. Even the most benevolent judgment must admit that in pronouncing sentence on the actions of popes, the sophistical attempt to sever the prince from the priest is inadmissible. For, standing before the tribunal of the apostles, would these pontiffs find a judge, who would allow them to cover their sins under the mantle of secular royalty, and regard the union of the powers as that of two natures? As secular princes, men such as Julius II. and Leo X. are no worse, are sometimes better than other monarchs of the time; as popes they appear intolerable and contemptible to every just judge. The pontiffs of that age claimed to be the representatives of Christ, yea the vicars of God on earth; and for this very reason history is inexorable in judging them. In their thirst for dominion they were false to the divine law of love, and in their ignoble longings for earthly power they thrust the lofty ideal of Christianity completely out of sight.

No pope had ever had so many or such eloquent eulogists or adulating courtiers as Leo X., but not even the blasts of their trumpets could deceive the judgment of posterity, which necessarily hesitates to acquiesce in this idolisation, or to reckon him among the great characters of history. Leo took into his hands the Papacy, as it had been transformed and transmitted to him by the Borgia and Rovere, and brought to it the consummate Medicean art of

diplomacy of which he was master. This system of masked intrigue, hypocrisy and of ambiguous statecraft he bequeathed to his successors as a secular dogma of the Sacred Chair. Jesuitism first arose as the policy of the ecclesiastical State. In the Papacy Leo securely maintained the centre of gravity of European relations, and unquestionably gave it supremacy in Italy. He increased the spiritual power of the Sacred Chair, to which he made France again subject, while efforts of the same nature which he made in Germany failed. The great ideas which were ascribed to him, the expulsion of the foreigner from Italy, the union of the country under papal rule, the restoration of peace, the balance of power in Europe and the Oriental war, all these seem in his transactions either so mangled or so unsuccessful that much ingenuity is required to frame from them a programme of his reign.

The Church itself he left on the brink of ruin. Immersed in schemes of splendour and dominion, in aesthetic self-indulgence, he showed not the slightest understanding of the crisis in the Church.[1] Intoxicated by his splendour, he enjoyed in it the entire extent and fulness of the ecclesiastical power as a good fortune which embraced the whole world. The Papacy was as steeped in pleasure as the ancient Roman Empire. Leo plunged this Papacy in the pomp of the neo-Latin paganism. He showed no comprehension of his Christian task,

[1] See the opinion of Sarpi, *Concil. Trident.*, i. c. 4, which Pallavicini in the main is obliged to confirm.

because, like all other popes of the Renascence, he confused the greatness of the Papacy with that of the Church itself, and this Roman falsification of the Christian ideal, the most prolonged and appalling of all the errors of the popes, produced the German Reformation.

Leo's name shines brightest in the history of culture, where, at least traditionally, he marks the zenith of the Renascence. Fortune favoured him in this circumstance. He reaped what greater predecessors with creative genius had sown. He held in his hands the cornucopiae of liberality precisely at the time when the Italian national spirit attained classic perfection. Leo X. in this respect possessed qualifications which made him as pope the representative of the period: an unprejudiced appreciation of all that was great and beautiful in culture, a genuine enthusiasm for the creations of genius, an understanding of the general culture of the time, and, lastly, princely generosity with princely birth. It was also really the aureole of Cosimo and Lorenzo Medici which paved the way for him to secure an Augustan place in the history of culture.

CHAPTER IV.

1. PAGANISM OF THE RENASCENCE—SCEPTICISM AND UNBELIEF—WORLDLY TONE OF CULTURE—CLASSES OF ROMAN SOCIETY—PATRONS OF LITERATURE AND ART—CHIGI AND ALTOVITI—THE DIPLOMATISTS—CORRUPTION—COURTESANS—ROMAN URBANITY AND SPLENDOUR—VERDICT OF ERASMUS ON ROME.

The Papacy and culture.

GREAT was the part played by the Papacy in Renascence culture, the magnificent flower of an epoch in the world's history, after the expiration of which the Italian intellect naturally sank back in exhaustion from the feverish exertion to which it had been roused. The influence of the popes on the civilisation of mankind stood in exact proportion to their harmony with the requirements of the time. It was greatest in the Middle Ages, when all intellectual life lay under the spell of theology; it was powerful towards the close of this period, when the popes surrendered themselves to the humanistic current of the century, when the spirit of classic antiquity, the invigorating Gulfstream of culture, again flowed through the world of thought. Had the popes hurled the anathemas of their predecessors against pagan culture, or those of their successors

against the tendencies of rationalism, they would have checked an entire civilisation. It was however the last time that the Papacy was able to assume an attitude of perfect harmony with the culture of the period. After the Council of Trent the Counter-Reformation, the Inquisition, and Jesuitism erected, so to speak, a Chinese wall around it, so that it lost connection with the progress of the time. A glance at its present position reveals to what a depth of torpidity and isolation the papal hierarchy has sunk in the midst of the living world.

No pope abandoned himself so unreservedly to the tendencies of his age as Leo X. He was so entirely permeated by them that his name has been given to his period, although his intellect, which was merely receptive, did not in any way endow it with the impress of his ideas. For no spark of native genius, no true creative power dwelt in this pleasure-seeking feminine nature. On succeeding to rule, Leo said to his brother Giuliano, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us."[1] And to no more worldly sentiment could a pope have given utterance than this Epicurean speech. The mainspring of his life was sensuous enjoyment of the full possession of contemporary culture, with which he was intoxicated. The monks with their ideals of poverty and mendicancy he held in contempt. He had no religious prejudices. His toleration sprang from his classic culture, and

Leo's attitude towards the culture of his age.

[1] *Quando il papa fu fatto, diceva a Giuliano: godiamoci il papato, poichè Dio ce l'ha dato: Relazione di Marino Georgi*, March 17, 1517, in Albéri, p. 51.

this was based on no other principles than those of beauty and enjoyment. Painting, poetry, eloquence, and music, these national endowments of the Italians, under Leo became the powers of the intellectual luxury of the time.

Pallavicini has bitterly upbraided him because he surrounded himself entirely with poets instead of theologians, and preferred the fables of paganism to the doctrines of Christianity.[1] The German Reformation raised no complaint against the elegant classic culture of the Papacy, but the exclusively pagan tendency of the Italians undoubtedly demanded as its antithesis the renascence of Christianity. The task of reforming the two intellectual tendencies of the age, the world of faith and that of knowledge, was too great for any single people. It was divided between Italy and Germany, and never have the national intellects of these two countries shown themselves more free and independent than in these achievements in the history of culture.

Renascence of Paganism.

In Leo's age paganism seemed entirely to discard the vesture of Christianity, in which as imagination, sense of form and polytheism, it had always survived among the Latins. Could a Roman of Cicero's time have been present in the sixteenth century at the festival of one of the saints of the Church on whom the epithet of *Divus* had been bestowed, he would scarcely have discovered anything unfamiliar in his surroundings. In Roman sepulchral inscriptions God is again Jupiter; Dante

[1] Pallavicini, i. c. 2.

had already called him Sommo Giove—and heaven again Olympus. The Conservators of Rome, who restored a cistern on the Capitol, inscribed on it like ancient Romans, "We have founded the vessel, do thou fill it, O Jupiter, with rain, and be gracious to the presidents of thy rock."[1] The cardinals were called senators, the saints simply gods (*Dii* and *Deae*), and the deifying title of *Divus*, as that of *Optimus Maximus*, is usually bestowed on the popes. When Leo ascended the throne the poet Janus Vitalis announced that Jupiter had again descended from Olympus to Rome, and that Leo Medici as Apollo would cure all the maladies of the time.[2] Neither had Julius II. been dismayed when one Good Friday a preacher had likened him to Zeus, and compared Christ to Decius or Curtius.[3] In his elegy on Bibiena, dedicated to Pope Leo, Valerianus thus addresses the shade of the cardinal: "We do not seek to enquire to what part of Olympus

[1] *Nos Vas Condidimus Pluvia Tu Jupiter Imple*
Praesidibusq. Tuae Rupis Adesse Velis.
Antonius Militius. Stephanus Teulus. Janus Corona Coss. Cisternam Hanc Vetustate Deformē. In Meliorem Formā. Restituen Curarūt. In Forcella, *Iscriz.*, i. 32.

[2] *Jam novus in terras alto descendit Olympo*
Jupiter, et sancto laetatur martia vultu
Roma, triumphales iterum ductura quadrigas— —
Quique prius morbi ingruerunt mortalibus aegris
Luce Leonini pelluntur Apollinis alma.
In Roscoe, Leo X., ii., Appendix, n. 4. Several poets call the Pope *Sol Leo.* Valerianus addresses Peter and Paul simply as: *Dii Tutelares Romae: Hexametri, Odae et Epigrammata*, p. 23.

[3] Erasmus in the *Ciceronianus*, Op. i. 996, where he mocks at the confusion of Paganism and Christianity. He occasionally calls the Romans *Pagani. Epist.* 648.

thy immortal virtue has led thee on a golden quadriga, but when thou wanderest through the heavenly worlds to look on the heroes, then forget not to implore the King of heaven and all the other gods, that, if they would enjoy their worship here on earth, to add to Leo those years of which the godless Parcae deprived Giuliano Medici and thee.[1] With equal naïveté Cathaneus relates that he had erected a tumulus on the shore to his friend Johannes Bonifacius, who had been drowned, and that in a loud voice he had three times invoked him by name.[2] We shall presently see that on Leo's death the Romans even ventured publicly to sacrifice a bull in the Colosseum to the hostile gods.

Paganism oozed through every pore of Catholicism, in the form of art and religion, of Platonic philosophy and Ciceronian eloquence. Under the hands of Bembo and Sadoleto even the papal bulls adopted the style and phrases of antiquity. Among the Latins the Christian religion had become petrified into a pagan service of the senses and of formulas. The absence of all deep philosophical power in the national intellect of Italy served as a means of defence to the Roman Church, which could thus survive her secularisation, although she could not

[1] *Pierii Valeriani Hexam.*, etc., Ferrara, 1550, p. 78: *Threni Cardinale Bibiennio Defuncto ad Leon. X.* The same pagan phraseology is already to be found in Cardinal Bessarion, who wrote to the sons of Gemistos: "I have learnt that your father has been transferred to the pure heavens to dance the mystic dance of joy (ἰακχον) with the Olympian gods. Pléthon, *Traité des lois*, ed. C. Alexandre, Paris, 1858, App. xv.

[2] *De litterator. infelicitate*, p. 62.



have outlived her spiritual regeneration. From the Platonic school at Florence, which was dissolved in the beginning of the sixteenth century, issued theistic and pantheistic ideas, but no definite rationalism. From this Platonism Italian art erected an ideal enthusiasm for the Beautiful, and this was its most living influence; it took the place of religion in the Renascence; Plato became the apostle of the Beautiful.[1] The sight of the unutterably depraved priesthood, or the knowledge that the papal power made the greatness of Italy impossible, may have driven patriotic thinkers such as Machiavelli to unbelief,[2] while the influence of the ancient philosophy possibly filled others with contempt for the doctrines of the Church, or the admiration of pagansim produced an aesthetic and sceptical tolerance. The barriers of Dante's Paradiso were removed; the beloved pagans were transplanted into the glory of the heaven of the blessed, where they exchanged greetings with the Christian successors to their splendour.[3]

Sceptics appeared in the liberal schools of Bologna and Padua, who denied the existence of a heaven beyond, while astrology, in affirming the influences

[1] The great artists of Italy created their immortal works in the light of neo-Platonism. Moriz Carriere, *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturentwicklung*, iv. 10.

[2] *Fuit exinde semper inops uti irrisor, et atheos*: Jovius, *Elogia*, p. 163. And yet this is not entirely correct. The priesthood disgusted Machiavelli with the Church, but he frequently expressed the opinion that the State and society should rest on a religious foundation.

[3] Concerning the influence of the *Somnium Scipionis*: Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 446.

of nativity, destroyed belief in the freedom of will. The celebrated head of the Italian sceptics was the Mantuan, Pietro Pomponazzo, and from his school issued the most renowned scholars of the time. Although in 1513 the Lateran Council found it necessary to proclaim belief in the immortality of the soul as an article of faith, Pomponazzo in one of his writings ventured to assert that it was impossible to give rational demonstration of this doctrine, and that it had never been maintained by Aristotle.[1] Thirty years later Pomponazzo would have been burnt for this assertion, but he was now merely punished with censures. Bembo protected his pamphlet from condemnation, and he died highly honoured at Bologna in 1524. In his youth Leo X. had been initiated in debates on Plato's doctrines on the soul; it is said that as pope he once praised the acute arguments with which an opponent of the theory of immortality defended his views; and even if this and other sneers, attributed to Leo and his friends, at "the profitable fable of Christianity," be untrue, they serve at all events to show the atmosphere that prevailed in the Vatican.

Pietro Pomponazzo.

Italian scepticism.

[1] The Bull, 14 *Kal. Jan.* 1513, ordered the clergy at the same time not to give more than five years to the study of Humanity; Labbé, xix. 843. The same council issued an edict of censure on May 4, 1515.—*Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, with other treatises of Pomponazzo, Venice, 1525. This treatise first appeared in Bologna in 1516; and when it was prohibited by the Inquisition in Venice, the sceptics wrote an apology in 1518, included in the same edition. Concerning Pomponazzo and his adversary Augustinus Niphus, see Ritter, *Gesch. der Phil.*, x., and Francesco Fiorentino, *Pietro Pomponazzo*, Flor., 1868.



Scepticism reigned universally. Accommodating itself to the prevailing culture, however, it remained diplomatically veiled from sight. Priests laughed among themselves, as in former days the augurs in ancient Rome, and allowed their hands to be reverently kissed by smiling laymen. We can form no opinion, however, as to how far scepticism would have developed into rationalism in Italy, since free enquiry was soon stifled or suppressed by the Inquisition. Generally speaking, among Italians the desire for truth was not the result of their desire for learning. In Italy, the hierarchical despotism, united to sensuality and the longing for the Beautiful, with the gross superstition of the lower classes and the unbelief of the upper, produced a distaste for the labour of thought and the moral struggles by which it is accompanied. After humanistic culture had emerged from the stage of enthusiastic discovery, it became an intellectual luxury, without giving rise to any deeper effect on the ethical life of the nation. It did not morally rejuvenate itself, and in this lies its weakness even at the present day.

In the age of Leo culture in short was pre-eminently secular. In the Middle Ages it consisted essentially in theological and legal discipline; but now philology, rhetoric, poetry, archaeology, and natural science gained the upper hand. The treasures of Italian learning were greater then than now. In relation to the time and its progress, they were probably equal to those of Germany at the present day. The Church, however, sought to

gather learned men and learning itself within her priesthood, as in the Middle Ages she had striven to gather them within the fold of monasticism.

In Leo's time, after the purely secular patronage of arts and letters exercised by the Medici in Florence had been transformed into a spiritual patronage in Rome, scholars and poets found more powerful protectors in the Vatican and among the greater prelates than in princes and republics. The series of writings dedicated to popes and cardinals is very numerous. This servile relationship already condemned scholars and poets to silence on many subjects. They might be cynics and pagans, but not free-thinkers. The papal censorship of the sixteenth century after Leo X. persecuted not the abominable works of Aretino, but the writings of the serious-minded Flaminius, and Sadoleto's treatise on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans was placed on the Index. Clerical protection.

Scholars and poets went to the Curia in search of offices and benefices, and here took orders as apostolic secretaries, canons, and bishops. The most celebrated literati were priests; such were Bembo, Sadoleto, Giberti, Canossa. The famous poet Bernardo Accolti was apostolic secretary; the renowned poet Vida died a bishop; the celebrated Latin historian of Rome, Paulus Jovius, was a bishop also; writers of "Novelle" like Bandello, and a hundred poets of the time, were bishops or papal scriptors or abbreviators. The most horrible of all authors, Pietro Aretino, even entertained hopes of the cardinal's purple.

In Roman society the finest culture was more especially found within the higher circles of the clergy. The period of the Renascence is also the golden age of the clerical aristocracy, who revelled in the possession of Rome. The Roman state had become a state of monsignori, and to the monsignori literature also essentially belonged. After the time of the Borgia the Roman nobility, if not serving in the army of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain or France, sank into that debasing condition of indolence and fossilisation, deprived of all political activity, from which it is only now beginning to emerge. Of the ancient families of the city, the richest at this time was the Massimi; its head Domenico dwelt in princely splendour in his palace in Parione, where he gave magnificent banquets; but we do not hear that he encouraged learning or art, although Lelio, a member of his house, was one of the greatest scholars in Rome.[1] There was no longer, as in Petrarch's days, any great Maecenas among the Roman barons, and if among the nobility several men of exquisite culture, such as the Mellini, Cesarini, Altieri, the Porcari, and Valle, were found, they stood for the most part in immediate connection with the prelates. The state, wealth, luxury, and culture, all had been usurped by the priests. The cardinals possessed larger incomes than the greater nobles, the annual revenues of many amounting to 30,000 ducats and upwards.

The Roman nobility.

Among the middle class some bankers were con-

[1] Domenico was married to Giulia, a daughter of Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro.

spicuous owing to their wealth, and if we except the Massimi, wealth lay mainly in the hands of some Italian immigrants or German merchants such as the Welsers and Fuggers. The aristocracy of money, which had raised the house of Medici to the papal throne, was represented in Rome by Agostino Chigi. This distinguished man was on intimate terms with Leo X., and we may say was as much his patron as his favourite. The most celebrated scholars, poets and artists enjoyed his princely liberality. The Spanocchi, who kept a bank of exchange, were also respected on account of their wealth and their patronage of the noble arts. Bindo Altoviti was conspicuous as a Maecenas. His family had come from Florence, and owing to the marriage of Rinaldo to Clarentia Cibò, sister of Innocent VIII., had risen to power in Rome. Antonio Altoviti, who married Dianora, daughter of this Rinaldo, was master of the Mint under Innocent VIII., acquired wealth and bought houses beside the Ponte S. Angelo. His son Bindo, born in 1491, restored the ancestral dwelling about 1514, and this deserted and picturesque palace still remains beside the bridge. Raffaelle painted the Impannata for Bindo, Michael Angelo presented him with the cartoons of his Sistine pictures, and Benvenuto Cellini executed his bust in bronze.[1]

The power of wealth in Rome.

Bindo Altoviti.

Diplomacy, which, with the cardinals' courts, was

[1] Concerning the Altoviti: Alveri, *Roma in ogni stato*, ii. 100, and Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, iii. Bindo was married to Fiametta Soderini. His son owned Buon Ricovero on the Via Cassia and the Vigna Altoviti opposite the Orso on the other side of the Tiber.

so prominent a characteristic of Roman society in the sixteenth century, had not yet attained prominence in the time of Leo X. The magnificent cavalcades of the ambassadors indeed enlivened Rome with scenes of theatrical splendour; it was merely owing to accident, however, if envoys remaining for a longer period, those especially of Italian courts, made their houses centres of society. This was done by Castiglione, the envoy of Mantua and Ferrara;[1] by Alberto Pio of Carpi, ambassador at Rome first of the Emperor, then of France, and afterwards by Gasparo Contarini and Jean du Bellay.

Diplomacy.

The higher ranks of Roman society presented a variety of circles, the centre of which was almost invariably a clerical Maecenas. First of all was the comprehensive circle of the Pope. Then the smaller coteries of the Cardinals Riario, Grimani, Bibiena, and Alidosi, of Giulio Medici, Caraffa and de Saulis, of Petrucci, Farnese, Castellesi and Soderini, of Sanseverino, Gonzaga and Egidius of Viterbo. These men exercised a patronage similar to that of the great nobles in ancient Rome. Each according to his inclination protected learning or art. In the time of Clement VII. the young cardinal Ippolito Medici supported 300 poetasters in his palace. There were also the circles of the Chigi and Altoviti, of Castiglione and Alberto Pio, of the art-loving

Coteries of Roman Macenati.

[1] Baldassare Castiglione, born in 1478 at the Villa Casatico near Mantua, son of Count Cristoforo and of Luisa Gonzaga, was first the envoy of Guidobaldo in Rome in 1506, then from 1513 that of his successor at the court of Leo X. After 1522 he was the envoy of Mantua in Rome; in 1525 Nuncio at Madrid, where he died on February 2, 1529.

Baldassare Turini and of Sigismondo Conti of Foligno.[1] Even Raffaelle, who had now risen to wealth, appears as a Maecenas. On his visits to the Vatican he was followed by a troop of clients who provoked the laughter of the recluse Michael Angelo. Raffaelle lived like a great noble in his palace in the Borgo, as his countryman Bramante had lived, as Sangallo lived and as Bernini was to live afterwards.

In the circles that surrounded these patrons of art and letters a satirist would have discovered all the characteristics portrayed in the pictures of manners given by Horace and Juvenal, Ammianus and Jerome. At the banquets of the Pope and Cardinals he would again have discovered the flatterers, hypocrites and parasites, who with outstretched necks extolled the pictures, statues, libraries and collections of their patrons, and would have listened to the rhetoricians, who lauded their greatness to the skies. In truth the Rome of Julius II. and Leo X. resembled on a reduced scale the Rome of the Roman emperors. Satires and novelle give us a picture of the city in these days; but no one ventured to appear as the Juvenal of the Renascence.

Absence of women of good repute.

In this paganising society of witty and pleasure-loving men there was only one deficiency, the absence of noble women. This was so acutely felt that the arrival of Giuliano Medici with his wife excited universal joy. "God be praised," wrote

[1] Conti had a villa on the Janiculum, where he assembled artists and scholars.



Bibiena, "for we want nothing here but a court of women."[1] In the time of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. illustrious women were boldly invited to banquets at the Vatican, but after the Borgia the popes rarely ventured on such a step. No good woman could have moved voluntarily and at ease among the monsignori, as women moved at the courts of Ferrara, Mantua and Urbino. It was with good reason that Veronica Gambara formed her brilliant circle at Bologna. When Vittoria Colonna afterwards came to Rome, she lived mainly in a convent. Bianca Rangone also, for whom Leo X. built a summerhouse in the Borgo, led a retired life. The presence of Isabella Gonzaga at theatrical representations in the Vatican was, however, observed.

In Roman society the place of noble women was filled by mistresses and courtesans. Before he became cardinal Bembo lived openly with the beautiful Venetian Morosina. Leo X. showed no hesitation in attending the marriage of Agostino Chigi with his mistress Francesca, another beautiful Venetian. Refinement of life produced a revival of the institution of hetaerae.

Aretino celebrated a Roman courtesan, who could repeat a hundred passages from the classics and knew by heart all Petrarch's poems and Boccaccio's tales. The celebrated Imperia of Ferrara in the time of Julius II. shone like a star, whose rays dazzled the senses of all the monsignori. Her dwelling in the

Character of Roman hetaerae.

[1] *Che qui non mancava, se non una corte di madonna*: Bibiena to Giuliano Medici, *Lettere di principi*, i. 16.

Banks, which is described by Bandello, may be regarded as a salon, thronged by the most intellectual men. Hangings, pictures, vases, nicknacks, choice books, beautiful Renascence furniture lent such magnificence to her rooms, that the noble Spanish ambassador one day spat in the face of a servant, because he could find no other place suitable for the purpose. Imperia accompanied her own verses, or those of her adorers, on the lute; she was a pupil of Strascino, for whose finest poem, On Venery, she had probably supplied the material.[1] This youthful Phryne was celebrated by Blosius, Beroaldo and a hundred other poets, and even the grave Sadoleto was reputed her admirer.[2] She died only twenty-six years old, and received honourable burial in the Chapel of S. Gregoria. Her epitaph records as her title of honour the great name of a Roman hetaera, of which she had been entirely worthy, and her beauty, rare among mankind.[3] Becadelli's theory that courtesans

[1] See the note to Roscoe, ii. c. 11.

[2] This is denied by Tiraboschi, *Bibl. Moden.*, iv. 426. Chigi, afterwards Pope Alex. VII., called her *nobilissimum Romae scortum*, and quoted Blosius' epigram on her:

Di duo magna duo tribuerunt munera Romae,
Imperium Mavors, et Venus Imperiam. . . .

See the Latin biography of Agostino Chigi by Fabio Chigi (afterwards Alex. VII.) in G. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico*, p. 46.

[3] *Imperia, Cortisana Romana, quae digna tanto nomine, rarae inter homines formae specimen dedit. vixit a. XXVI. d. XII. Obiit MDXI. die XV. Aug.* Her (reputedly) chaste daughter Lucrezia poisoned herself to escape the snares of Cardinal Petrucci. Roscoe, *ut supra*, after Colocci, *Poesie Italiane*, p. 29, Edit. 1777, and the *Vita* of Aug. Chigi mentioned above.

occupy a more useful place than pious nuns was acted on in Rome. As the surname Romana had been given to the last saintly Roman woman in the time of Eugenius IV., so with equal national pride people now talked of a Cortisana Romana. Intellect in women, clothed in physical beauty, was celebrated with the feeling of antiquity.

We should inspire disgust did we attempt to depict the unbounded vice of Roman society in the corrupt times of Leo X. or to lift the veil from the mysteries of the priesthood. The moral corruption of an age, one of the best of whose productions bore the title of "Syphilis," is sufficiently known, but the classic vices of Greece and the East were not first introduced by the Renascence, nor was the priesthood more depraved than lay society, nor Rome more corrupt than Genoa, Venice or Paris.[1] In the capital of the Church, however, immorality necessarily appears more revolting and also more dangerous than elsewhere.[2]

Corruption of morals.

In the midst of this corrupt priesthood we may observe a germ of moral reaction in a society of pious men, which was productive of great results

[1] Probably no city was more corrupt than Venice. Pasquino says:

Urbe tot in Veneta scortorum millia cur sunt?
In promptu causa est: est Venus orta mari.

[2] Of the learned class Gyraldi says: *Pudet me—id de litteratis affere, quod omnium tamen est in ore, nullos esse omnium vitiorum, etiam nefandissimorum genere inquinatos magis, tum iis praecipue, quae praeter naturam dicuntur: Progymnasma adv. literas et literatos.* Opp. ii. 431. Ariosto in his sixth satire to Bembo: *Pochi sono grammatici, e humanisti, senza il vizio, per cui Dio Sabaot fece Gomora, e i suoi vicini tristi.*

at a later period. This is the Oratorium Divini Amoris, of which the priest Julius Dathus of SS. Silvestro e Dorotea in Trastevere was the head. In this society Christendom sought refuge from the whirl of pagan pleasures in the time of Leo X. It was joined by Giampietro Caraffa and his friend Gaetano Tiene. The ardent zealot Caraffa, nephew of Cardinal Olivieri, had already been chamberlain to Alexander VI. and was made Bishop of Chieti under Julius II.; under Leo X. he acquired distinction at the Lateran Council and obtained renown as nuncio in England and Spain. Sadoleto, Contarini, Giberti, Aluigi Lippomanno, Latinus Juvenalis, Tullius Crispoldus, Bonifacius a Colle belonged to this oratory, which became the foundation of the order of the Theatines.[1]

Oratorium Divini Amoris.

Even before Luther or Hutten, Savonarola had described Rome as a sink of iniquity. Did we however only possess the picture of the city drawn by a single reformer, it would undoubtedly be one-sided. Luther only beheld the profane because he only sought for the sacred Rome. Erasmus fell under the spell of the same city, and while Luther said that he would not take 1000 florins not to have seen corrupt Rome, Erasmus acknowledged that only Lethe could wash out its sweet remembrance.[2] Erasmus first came in February or March 1509, and spent some months with men of learning, such as

Verdict of Erasmus on Rome.

[1] Joh. Silos, *Histor Clericor. Regular.*, i.

[2] *Ut urbis liceat oblivisci, quaerendus est mihi fluvius aliquis Lethaeus* to the Cardinal of Nantes, London, February 8, 1512. Op. Epist. 136.

Scipio Carteromachus, Sphaerula, Julius Camillus, Beroaldo, and with Cardinals such as Grimani, Riario, Medici and the Cardinal of Nantes. Rome as the theatre of the world and its culture fascinated the greatest scholar of the time. Monuments, art and collections, libraries, the wealth of learning and intellect, the grandiose style of life, all filled him with admiration.[1] As a satirist it seemed to him a great European carnival, where worldly vanity went masked in spiritual attire, where were represented all lusts and desires, all intrigues and crimes, their magnet the Vatican, and thirst for gold, honours and power the forces that moved them. Sailing on this tumultuous sea he seemed to behold Sebastian Brand's overcrowded Ship of Fools; and, in fact, soon after his arrival in London in 1509, he wrote his celebrated "Praise of Folly" in the house of Thomas More.[2]

As a Christian he was astonished at the bold and glaring colouring borrowed from Paganism by the Roman religion, of which nothing remained that was not false, and whose formerly revered temple had been transformed by the ambition and rapacity

[1] *Et tamen non possum discruciari Romanae urbis desiderio, quoties animo recursat, quam libertatem, quod theatrum, quam lucem, quas deambulationes, quas bibliothecas, quam mellitas eruditissimorum confabulationes, quot mei studiosos orbis proceres relicta Roma reliqueram.* To Raf. Riario, London, March 31, 1515, Ep. 168, and Ep. 167 to Cardinal Grimani.

[2] Henry VII. died on April 22, 1509; Henry VIII., his successor, invited Erasmus to England. He left Rome and went to London. See *Vie d'Erasme*, by Burigny, i. 119. Adolf Müller, *Leben des Erasmus*, Hamburg, 1828, p. 193. Pierre de Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie*, Paris, 1888.

of the priesthood into a European banking house and a retail market for diplomas of favours, indulgences and objects of superstition. As a man of the world, however, Erasmus could not feel otherwise than at ease in the courts of cardinals, and above all he had to acknowledge that in this corrupt Rome were found the most liberal form of intercourse and the most exquisite courtesy. In the age when in his "Cortegiano," Castiglione drew the ideal courtier, ancient urbanity was revived, and even if only the mask of inward corruption, it must have enchanted every northerner.

Activity of intellectual life in Rome.

The Papacy, learning, antiquity, art, all linked Roman society in correspondence with the world. In Rome the most important matters of the time were discussed, or actively taken in hand; cosmopolitan politics, cosmopolitan literature, for in the Renascence of Latinism we may speak of such a thing, the arts, poetry, the rising drama—above all, science. The wealth of intellectual life flourished here in the morass of vice. It is, however, only just to admit that alongside of sensuality and avarice, pride and self-importance, hypocrisy and falsehood, conspicuous virtues were seen; generosity, friendship and benevolence, respect paid to talent and love of all that was beautiful. In nobler natures even unchastity was accompanied by a liberal humanity, which was the true flower of the culture of the Italians.[1] No other city could show a society

[1] With regard to this, Giov. della Casa writes in the *Vita Petri Bembi: fuit aetas, tempusque illud humanitatis suavitate nimia prope quadam perfusum; ut delectationum multarum studia saeculi illius*

so universally educated as that of the wholly corrupt city of Rome. Florence had emigrated to Rome, or the city of Lorenzo Medici had become a stepping stone to the Academy of the world. Valerianus might justly say that Rome at this period did more for intellectual culture than the whole of the rest of Italy. With equal justice Cardinal Riario called Rome the common fatherland of all scholars.[1]

2. THE ROMAN ACADEMY—ANGELO COLOCCI—GORITZ—LIBRARIES—THE VATICANA—INGHIRAMI—BEROALDO—ACCIAJUOLI — ALEANDER — THE ROMAN UNIVERSITY — CICERONIANS — BEMBO — SADOLETO — GIANFRANCESCO PICO—ALBERTO PIO—ANTIQUARIES—ALBERTINI—MAZOCHI'S COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS—ANDREAS FULVIUS—PIERIUS VALERIANUS—RAFFAELLE'S PLAN OF THE CITY—MARIO FABIO OF CALVI—HISTORIANS—PARIS DE GRASSIS—EGIDIUS OF VITERBO—RAFFAELLUS VOLATERRANUS—PAULUS JOVIUS — HELLENISTS — CARTEROMACHUS — FAVORINUS — JOHN LASCARIS — MUSURUS — DECLINE OF HUMANISM—GYRALDI'S INVECTIVE AND CONFESSIONS OF JOVIUS.

We shall only designate a few of the groups and characters prominent in the culture of the Renascence in relation to Rome.

licentiae, propemodum omnium permissu, concessa essent. He proceeds to describe this humane freedom in contrast to the *tristitia* of succeeding times. See *Vita Selector. aliquot Viror.*, London, 1681, p. 146.

[1] *De literator. infel.*—Card. Riario to Erasmus, Rome, July 15, 1515, in Erasmi Op. Ep. 180; *Aliis alia patria est, Roma communis literator. omnium et patria est, et altrix et evectrix.*

First, the Roman Academy, which embraced the intellectual society of the city. The Academy was adorned by the foremost names among the Italians, Bembo, Sadoleto, Tebaldeo, Vida, Castiglione, Navagero, Beroaldo, Inghirami, Valerianus. Its accepted head was Angelo Colocci of Jesi, secretary to Leo X., who had come to Rome while young, and there risen to renown. In 1513 Colocci built a villa beside the Aqua Virgo, where he collected antiquities and inscriptions, among which the *Fasti Consulares Colotiani* acquired celebrity; while of his statues a Socrates and a Jupiter Ammon received special admiration.[1] He also collected coins and gems, and Greek and Hebrew manuscripts, which on the death of his son Marcantonio passed into the hands of Fulvio Orsini. In these Gardens of the "Coryphaeus of all urbane Souls" the Academy continued to hold its meetings. Colocci was a man of classical education, the most intimate friend of John Lascaris, himself a poet in two languages, the model of a jovial and genial patron of learning and art.

The Roman Academy.

Angelo Colocci.

The Academicians occasionally met at the house of Agostino Chigi, or at that of the eloquent Mario Maffei of Volterra, Bishop of Aquino, or at the villa of the poet Blosius Palladius on the Tiber, at the dwelling of Sadoleto on the Quirinal

[1] The *Horti Colotiani* stood, according to Renazzi, *Univ. di Roma*, ii. 19, near the present Palazzo del Bufalo. Colocci also restored the *Aqua Virgo*. In 1537 he was made Bishop of Nocera, and died in Rome in 1549.—*Vita Angeli Colotii Episcopi Nucerini* by Federigo Ubaldino, Rome, 1673. Concerning his collection of antiquities, Bart. Marliani, *Topogr. ant. Romae*, p. 147.

and in the summerhouse of Egidius, the Augustinian cardinal. On the day of S. Anna Goritz
Goritz. was accustomed to entertain them in his vineyard beside Trajan's Forum. Goritz, a native of Luxemburg, had become entirely Romanised, and was one of the most popular figures in the city; he had already been Receiver of Supplications under six popes, and was the living chronicle of Rome. Although not wealthy, he made his home a temple to the muses. And to the German Humanists who visited Rome it was a welcome centre. The upright white-headed veteran, animated, and active, eloquent and charming, irascible, an enthusiastic lover of antiquity and a friend of art and poetry, was called by the Academicians, in Virgilian phrase, Corycius Senex, and honoured as their patriarch. Blosius has described his character, which may be termed *festiva urbanitas*. Men of the same type, ideals of the literary and artistic dilettante, have always been forthcoming in Rome.[1]

Not without pleasure can we read the description of the lively festivals of the Academicians, which apparently did not transgress the limits of a fine moderation.[2] They reached their zenith during the reign of Leo X., when a fresh impetus was given to all learned institutions in Rome.

As Cardinal, Leo had already established his

[1] See Blosius' letter to him in the Coryciana. Blosius says that the Muses had bestowed him as a gift to poets from Parnassus and the Corycian grotto.

[2] Sadoleto, *Ep. Famil.*, i. 106 and ii. 246. Other passages in Tiraboschi, vii., i., lib. i. c. 2.

private library in the hall of his palace adorned with statues and pictures, to which every one had entrance. The nucleus of his library was formed by the remains of the wealth of manuscripts collected by his ancestors, which, in the revolution in Florence, caused by the entrance of Charles VIII., had first been dispersed, then collected in the convent of S. Marco, and, finally, having been bought by Leo in 1508, were conveyed to Rome.[1]

Library of Leo X.

He added to the library, which even as Pope he did not unite to that of the Vatican. To it belonged the manuscript of the first five books of the Annals of Tacitus, brought by Gianangelo Arcimboldi from Corvey, and bought by Leo for 500 gold florins. These MSS. are now in the Laurentiana, where they were probably conveyed along with the Medicean private library, when Clement VII. had the latter removed to Florence.[2]

Private collections of MSS.

To collect MSS. in palaces had become a requirement of fashion. Sigismondo Conti, Angelo Cesi, Chigi, Coloccio, and Goritz; prelates and cardinals such as Caraffa, Farnese, Riario, Alidosi, Armellini, and the Rovere founded such collections. Sadoleto had formed a considerable library. But the largest of all, consisting of 8000 volumes, was that of Grimani in the Palazzo Venezia, a collection that evoked the admiration of Erasmus. The cardinal, dying in 1524, left it a legacy to S. Antonio di

[1] Filippo Beroaldo in the Preface to the Florentine edition of Tacitus, 1517. Fabroni, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 36, and *Adnot.*, n. 19. Leo had paid 2652 gold florins for the remains of this library.

[2] Domenico Zanelli, *La Bibl. Vaticana*, Rome, 1857, p. 23.

Castello in Venice, where it was afterwards burnt.[1] The number of valuable libraries bequeathed by Rome to Venice is remarkable. Petrarch and afterwards Bessarion each left his books to this city, so also did Aleander. In Rome, however, convent libraries already existed, and these with their later additions still remain. Julius II. had decorated the library of S. Peter as well as that of the Twelve Apostles, and had built the library of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The collections of books in S. Maria in Aracoeli, and in S. Sabina, and the largest of present times in Rome, those of the Minerva and the Augustinians, were already in existence.[2]

Julius made but few additions to the Vatican. And if Bembo called him a Ptolemy Philadelphus, the flattering title merely applied to him with regard to his private library, the Bibliotheca Julia. He made Tommaso Fedra Inghirami director of the Vaticana. Inghirami was born about 1470 at Volterra, a city which, in Jacopo, Raffaelle, and Giuliano and Mario Maffei, had already given several renowned scholars to Rome. As a youth he had acted in Riario's theatre, and in Seneca's Hippolytus had played the part of Phaedra with such ability, that he received the nickname of Phaedra. Alexander VI. made use of Inghirami in diplomatic affairs, and Maximilian crowned him

The Vaticana.

Inghirami.

[1] Tiraboschi, vii., p. i., lib. i. n. 17. Erasmus, Ep. 167, to Grimani, London, March 31, 1515, calls this library *ditissimam et omnijugis omnium linguar. libris refertam.*

[2] Albertini in his Chap. *De Bibliothecis.*

as poet. On the score of his classic eloquence he was called the Cicero of his age, and he even awoke the admiration of Erasmus.[1] Among the MSS. which he brought from Bobbio to Rome was the palimpsest of Cicero's Republic, which Cardinal Mai was the first to restore to light. On July 17, 1510, he succeeded his compatriot Giuliano in the Vatican,[2] and died here on September 6, 1516, in consequence of a fall from a mule. Raffaelle painted the portrait of this ideal of the Roman prelate of Renascence times, and has thus secured him that immortality which his scanty writings would have failed to acquire.[3]

Leo endeavoured to add to the Vatican library. As he explained, not the smallest of his duties was that of enlarging the treasury of the ancient authors, in order that under his pontificate the Latin language might develop with greater splendour than it had hitherto done.[4] He sent agents to buy manuscripts. Agostino Beazzano, John Hayt-mers, de Rosis of Ravenna, Arcimboldi, and the indefatigable custos of the Vatican, Faustus Sabaeus,

Purchase of MSS. for the Vatican.

[1] *Lingua verius quam calamo celebrem nam erat in dicendo tum copia cum auctoritas—dictus sui seculi Cicero*: Erasmus, Ep. 671, p. 788. Valerianus, *De infel. liter.*, p. 22, calls him *affluentissimum eloquentiae flumen.*

[2] Zanelli believes as reward for the manuscripts which he had brought from Bobbio. Tirab., vi. i. 200.

[3] See in the *Anecdota litteraria* (*Rom. ap. Gregor. Settar.*, i. n. xi.), Inghirami's *Laudatio in obitu Lodovici Podocatharii Cyprii Card.*, and, in the Introduction to the same, Galetti's notices concerning him.

[4] Brief to Francesco de Rosis of Ravenna, December 30, 1517, in Sadoleti, *Ep. Pontif.*, n. 54.

travelled in the East and even to Denmark.[1] But the MS. of Tacitus was the only great discovery. It was edited by the Bolognese Filippo Beroaldo, pupil of an uncle of the same name, a celebrated Latinist.[2] Beroaldo was Inghirami's successor in the Vatican, but died in 1518, when the Florentine Acciajuoli. Zanobio Acciajuoli received the post. This learned Dominican, once an adherent of Savonarola, was the most confidential associate of Leo, who, soon after succeeding to the papal throne, brought him to Rome, and received him into the Medici family. He was thoroughly versed in the ancient languages and also in Hebrew. Dwelling in the oratory of S. Silvestro on the Quirinal, he was steeped in enthusiasm for the splendour of Rome. In Latin verses he exhorted Leo to rebuild the Quirinal, as one of his predecessors had rebuilt the Leonina.[3]

[1] A bad epigram from Sabaeus to Leo says :

Ipse tuli pro te discrimina, damna labores
Et varios casus barbarie in media,
Carcere ut eriperem, et vinclis et funere libros,
Qui te conspicerent et patriam reduces.

Sabaeus died at the age of 80, custodian of the Vatican under Paul IV. In 1556 he published five books of epigrams with a dedication to Henry II. of France. They are included in the *Deliciae CC. Poetar. Italor.* (1608), ii. Arnobius was edited in Rome from a MS. in his possession. Besides Sabaeus, Lorenzo Parmenio of S. Ginnesio was custos of the Vatican from 1511 until 1529. Tiraboschi, vii., i., i. c. v. 13. Concerning Sabaeus see Quirini, *Specimen variae literat. in urbe Brixia* (Brescia, 1739), ii. 167.

[2] *P. Corn. Taciti ab Excessu Divi Aug. Historiar. libri quinque nuper inventi. Flor.* 1517 *per Haeredes Phil. Juntae.* In spite of the prohibition of the Pope, Tacitus was reprinted by Alessandro Minuziano, a Milanese, who had brought out the first complete edition of Cicero in 1498–99. Milan, 4 vol., fol.

[3] The poem is given in the Appendix to Roscoe, iii. n. xx.

He made a catalogue of the documents of the secret Archives (*Bibliotheca Secreta*), which had been established by Sixtus IV., and which was removed to S. Angelo about 1518.[1]

On Acciajuoli's death on July 27, 1519, his place was filled by a certain Hieronymus Aleander, who became known as one of the most zealous opponents of the dawning Reformation. Aleander, the son of a physician, was born at Motta in the March of Treviso in 1480. He was an ardent student of profane and theological learning, and had attained such proficiency in Oriental languages that he was believed to be a Jew by birth. In Venice he formed a friendship with Aldus Manutius, who profited by his rare learning, and dedicated to him his edition of Homer. In Venice he also became intimate with Erasmus. Alexander VI. wished to make him secretary to his son Caesar. In 1508 he went to Paris, shone there as teacher, and even became Rector of the University. He then entered the service of Erard de la Marck, the Prince-bishop of Liège, and on his business—to procure him the purple—came to Rome for the first time in 1516. Giulio Medici here took him into his service; Leo X. made him Bibliothecarius of the Vatican, then appointed him his Nuncio in Germany, where his duty was to suppress the Reformation. Aleander

Aleander.

[1] Röstel, *Das vat. Archiv*, Röm. Stadtbeschr., ii. 295. Dudek, *Iter Roman.*, Vienna, 1885, part ii. The formal institution of the Papal Archives beside the Vatican library dates from Paul V.; with them were united the *Secreta* from S. Angelo under the Archivist Gaetano Marini at the end of XVIII. Saec., so that the entire wealth of documents and regesta of the Popes is now collected in eleven rooms.

loved Germany, where he had formerly wished to settle; he was honoured by its scholars, with whom he was on friendly terms; and he was regarded as a German.[1] But he soon made himself universally hated. Going thither with Marino Caracciolo in 1520, he showed himself so violent an opponent of Luther and his adherents that he even made an enemy of Erasmus. As the author of the Edict of Worms, he served the popes as legate on the most important of occasions. In the struggle with the Reformation he proved himself a haughty and cunning fanatic, but in the end saw all his exertions and artifices defeated.[2] Clement VII. gave him the Archbishopric of Brindisi; in 1538 he became Cardinal under Paul III., and then resigned his office of librarian. He died, as legate elect to the Council, in 1542, without leaving any writings that could secure him renown either as theologian or philologist.

The University of Rome

The Roman University, which had been neglected by Julius, rose to fresh vigour under Leo X. True, that the chair of Pomponius Laetus was filled, although not with distinction, by Agostino Valdo of Padua, and but few professors of theology or law

[1] The Munich Cod. lat. 4007 contains the correspondence between him and Michael Humelberg of Ravensburg, the friend of Reuchlin.

[2] See (besides the article in Mazzuchelli) F. Münter, *Gesch. der Nunciatur Hier. Aleander's auf dem Reichstage zu Worms*, 1521 (*Verm. Beiträge zur Kirchengesch.*, Copenhagen, 1798). Moreover, *Der Reichstag zu Worms im* 1521. *Nach den Briefen des päpstl. Nuntius Hieron. Aleander*, by Joh. Friedrich, *Abh. d. III. Cl. d. k. Akad. der Wiss.*, vol. xi., iii., Abth., Munich, 1871.—Aleander was nuncio at the Diet of Regensburg in 1531, and was last in Germany as nuncio in 1539.

could be esteemed ornaments of the institution. Marco Vigerio of Savona, summoned to Rome by Sixtus IV., and made a cardinal in 1505, and Tommaso de Vio, who had been brought thither by Oliviero Caraffa, were the most celebrated theologians of the period, and the illustrious jurist Giovanni Gozzadini of Bologna taught for a time at the university.[1] It threatened to fall to decay until Leo X. reformed it by his Constitution of November 4, 1413. The Pope restored all the faculties, allotted higher salaries to the professors, and summoned distinguished teachers. As early as 1514 he appointed the celebrated Latinist Janus Parhasius or Giampolo Parisio of Cosenza as professor of Rhetoric. Inghirami, Antonio Fabro of Amiterno, Raffaelle Brandolini, Beroaldo, Pietro Sabino also taught in the same faculty. Even a chair for Oriental languages was founded, and the Calabrese Agacius Guidocerius received the professorship of Hebrew. The dignity of Grand-Chancellor of the university was bestowed on Cardinal Rafael Riario, that of Rector on Domenico Jacovazzi. A list, written on parchment in 1514, gives the names of the professors of all the faculties; they were eighty-eight in number, eleven of canon-law, twenty jurists, fifteen professors of medicine and five of philosophy.[2] Among them, however, are none of foremost rank.

restored by Leo X.

[1] Vigerio died in 1516. Tommaso de Vio, promoted to the Cardinalate in 1517, died in 1534, and was buried in the Minerva. Gozzadini was murdered at Reggio in 1517.

[2] Renazzi, ii. App. n. ii. This *libellus nominum quem vulgo vocant rotulam* was annually compiled; see Basilius Chalcondylas to Janus Parhasius, in *Marquard. Gudii Epistolae*, Utrecht, 1697, p. 138.



Several mediocre men had received chairs through patronage. The Roman University, overcrowded with professors, never attained the importance of Padua or Bologna.

The sixteenth century reaped the fruits of the labours of the fifteenth, and diffused the cult of classic literature in schools throughout the world. The ancient authors were interpreted; grammar was thoroughly studied, and in some writers the neo-Latin style acquired a facile vivacity full of grace and spirit. But generally speaking imitation was so servile that Erasmus laughed at the swarm of Latinists as the "Apes of Cicero."[1] Eloquence remained the goal of the student's ambition, and in Renascence times, as in the times of Cicero or Demosthenes, this art of the virtuoso was the art of the national decadence. As in the age of the Greek sophists, a good speech was an exciting event.[2] According to the example of the ancients, rhetoric even entered into the writing of history, and Guicciardini's work is filled with fictitious speeches. "The finest ornaments," wrote Busini to the historian Varchi, "which history can have, in my opinion, are speeches." We find political speeches,

Ciceronians.

Eloquence.

[1] *Sed, o Musae, quantulam Ciceronis portionem nobis referunt isti Ciceronis simii*: in the Ciceronianus, Op. 185.

[2] In August 1501 Agostino Vespucci, writing to Machiavelli from Rome, describes with genuine enthusiasm the Latin speech made by an orator, hitherto unknown, in S. Luigi, principally in honour of the King of France. He had surpassed Fedra, Blosio, Sabellico and Lippo. Vespucci concludes: *credono molti che, sendo suto alla presentia il Re, che lo havia facto in̄ quello instanti grande homo apresso di sè.* (Letter in Villari, *Machiavelli*, i. 562.)

speeches made at festivals, pulpit and funeral discourses, academic panegyrics of every kind, orations delivered in council, all modelled on Cicero.[1] Leo never missed an opportunity of hearing a Latin speech. It gave him as much pleasure as music or improvisation. He attended the festival of the Palilia of Rome, when on April 23, 1521, his statue was unveiled on the Capitol, and listened to the oration of the *Reformator* of the university. The orator began his discourse with Adam and Romulus, depicted the splendour of the Roman Empire, then turned to the greatness of the Papacy, and finally entered on a eulogy of Leo himself. Never had an orator in such Ciceronian language described the benefits which Rome owed to the popes.[2] Never before had a pope, like his auditor Leo, been able to flatter himself with the idea of ruling over a people

[1] Francesco Trucchi's Anthology: *Gli oratori Italiani in ogni ordine di eloquensa*, Turin, 1854, shows us into how many and wondrous branches eloquence was divided by the Italians. Celebrated were the speeches of Inghirami (funeral oration on Julius II.), of Egidius in the Council, of Bembo in presence of the Senate of Venice; of Longolius and of Celsus Mellini. "No other country in the sixteenth century possessed so many masters of pleasing style and ancient colouring. The restoration of the Church dealt a fatal blow to these studies; liberal taste perished." G. Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Röm. Litteratur.*, i. Abt., Brunswick, 1869, p. 108.

[2] *Ergo majoribus nostris famam, nomen, gloriam, caduca ipsa et quandoque peritura, at Roma, his Pontificibus vitam, coelum, aeternitatem perpetuam ac mansuram, nosque ipsos debemus.* How times change! A few steps from the statue of Leo X. on the Capitol, we now read the inscription placed by the new authority in commemoration of September 20, 1870, the date of the fall of the temporal Papacy. There we read of *Urbs Roma Antiquis Squallens Liberata*

who loved his rule. The speech lasted for hours, and fills a book which still remains to us.[1]

The Latinists made philology an instrument of universal culture and enlightenment. It removed the barriers between nations, soon also those of the confessional, and diffused a species of freemasonry over Europe, in which men of learning fraternised with one another. No other age has witnessed such lively intercourse or animated correspondence between the scholars of different lands. Would it have been possible to achieve such an end, or would the simultaneous progress of nations have been accomplished, without a universal language?

Bembo.

Among the Latinists of this period, the figure of Pietro Bembo rises conspicuous, as in former times the figures of Petrarch and Poggio. Bembo however possessed neither the learning nor the merits of his predecessors. This noble Venetian was the son of Bernardo Bembo, who, as Praetor of Ravenna, erected Dante's Mausoleum. Born at Florence on May 20, 1470, he received his early education there.[2] Beginning in 1492, he studied Greek for three years with Constantine Lascaris at Messina, and afterwards

[1] *Oratio totam fere Romanam Historiam complectens habita Romae in aedib. Capitolinis XI. Kal. Maji* 1521, *ab. anon. auctore die qua dedicata fuit marmorea Leonis X. P. M. statua*, published by Rodolfo Venuti, Rome, 1735. At the close the orator appeals to the Virgin of the Capitol to grant long life to the Pope, openly regretting that he dare not appeal direct to Jupiter: *Quare et Te non jam Jupiter, sed Virgo Capitolina Dei Parens, quae hujus urbis et collis reliquiis praesides, Romamq. et Capitolium tutaris. . . .*

[2] His life is given in the Introduction to his works, Venice, 1729, and in Giovanni della Casa's *Vita Petri Bembi* in *Vitae selector. aliquot virorum*, Londini, 1861.

philosophy with Pomponazzo at Padua. He accompanied his father to Ferrara in 1498, and here found men of intellect, the Strozzi, Antonio Tebaldeo, Leoniceno and the youthful Sadoleto. But after 1502 his chief magnet was Lucrezia Borgia, with whom he maintained somewhat questionable relations. He sang her praises in verse, carried on a lively correspondence with her, and comforted her on the death of her "great father." In 1504 he dedicated to her the most graceful of his works, the Asolani, a Platonic dialogue on love, which has made his name famous.[1] From 1506 onwards we find Bembo amid the intellectual circle at the court of Urbino, which, under the rule of Guidobaldo and his wife Elisabetta, was at this time the most flourishing seat of the Muses in Italy and the school of her finest manners. From it issued the ideal of the courtier, the Cortegiano of Castiglione. Here Bembo remained until after the death of Guidobaldo, to whose memory he erected a beautiful monument.[2] Giuliano Medici, who as exile met with a hospitable

[1] Letter with the dedication, August 1, 1504, Opp. iii. 311. The fortress is that of Asolo, near Treviso; at the end of the fifteenth century it was the residence of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus. The first edition was printed by Aldus in Venice in 1505; a second appeared in 1515.

[2] Dialogue *De Guido Ubaldo Feretrio deque Elisabetha Gonzaga Urbini Ducibus.* He describes the death of the Duke, and the grief of the widow, in the letter to Vincenzo Querino, Urbino, June 10, 1508, Opp. iii. 112. Sadoleto says of Urbino: *Non enim uspiam alibi terrar., neque nostra, opinor, neque antiquor. memoria, tot et tales principes ingenii ac litterar. facile uno in loco quispiam possit nominare, quot nunc Urbini praeclarum coetum constituunt. De laudib. phil.*, ii. 190 (Lugduni, 1543).



reception at the court of Urbino, took Bembo with him to Rome in 1512, and Leo X. made him his secretary.[1]

Bembo possessed rare advantages, a handsome person, knowledge of the world and brilliant culture. The Pope loved him and his mannered phrases. These two *beaux esprits* understood one another. As a papal politician in an influential post, Bembo became one of the leaders of Roman society, where his brilliant and amiable character exercised a vivifying influence on the activity of scholars and artists. In 1520 he retired to Padua, and there led a studious and secluded life. He made his house a Ciceronian museum; collected statues, pictures, medals, inscriptions, manuscripts, among which two of great value, the Terence and Virgil, are now in possession of the Vatican.[2] Bembo even laid out a Botanic Garden. Only under Paul III. was he induced to return to Rome. He was created cardinal in 1539, and with Morone, Contarini, Cortese, Pole and Sadoleto was an ornament to the Sacred College. Dying on January 18, 1547, he received an appropriate grave in the neighbourhood of the

[1] Bembo had already been in Rome during the time of Julius II.; he wrote thence to his father on April 15, 1510, Opp. iii. 97.

[2] Description of his museum in *Notizia d'opere di disegno*—ed. Morelli, Bassano, 1800, p. 17. Bembo's son Torquato bequeathed the Codex of Virgil to Fulvio Orsini, from whom it came into possession of the Vatican. It contains only fragments of the Georgics and Aeneid, and probably belongs to the fifth century. The four bronze tables, containing fragments of Roman laws, also passed from his museum into the hands of Fulvio Orsini. The portraits of Navagero and Beazano painted by Raffaelle also came from the same place.

monument to Leo X. in the Minerva. Bembo is regarded as head of the Ciceronians of his time. His style is correct and masterly, but cold and mannered. Nothing original dwelt in his elegant and occasionally frivolous nature, which lacked depth and penetration. Apart from his perfection of form in two languages, he exercised no lasting influence on literature. His poems are forgotten, and his Asolani (written in Italian) remains merely a literary monument of the aesthetic culture of the period. His Latin history of Venice, the continuation of that of Sabellicus, although a superficial work, is valuable as a contemporary record, and of equal importance is his official and familiar correspondence.[1]

Of less brilliant but more profound intellect was Bembo's friend Jacopo Sadoleto, son of a jurist in Modena, where the scholar was born about 1477. He studied in Ferrara under Leoniceno. Ferrara and Padua were at this time flourishing academies, through which almost all prominent intellects made their entrance to the world. The school of Humanity established by the Este flourished until late in the sixteenth century; under the patronage of the Duchess Renée, daughter of Lewis XII., it even stretched its branches into Lutheran Germany and into Calvinistic France. Its head was the celebrated Latinist Celio Calcagnini, the friend of Erasmus, and after 1520 professor in Ferrara. Beside him shone Lilius Gregorius Gyraldi, who had been tutor to the youthful Cardinal Ercole Rangone in

[1] *Lettere di Bembo*, Opp. iii.



Rome.[1] Sadoleto, who had come to Rome under Alexander VI., was the intimate friend of Caraffa and the pupil of Scipio Carteromachus. He rose to celebrity in the Academy, and his verses on the Laocoon passed from mouth to mouth. Leo X., in whom Latin verse and Ciceronian prose aroused more enthusiasm than anything else, made him his secretary, and then Bishop of Carpentras. Thither he retired on the death of his patron, until recalled to Rome by Clement VII. He left the city shortly before the catastrophe of 1527, and for nine years dedicated himself to his duties at Carpentras. In 1536 Paul III. brought him back to Rome and made him a cardinal. Here he died on October 18, 1547, soon after his friend Bembo.[2]

Sadoleto, like all these Latinists, tried poetry in his youth, and afterwards wrote treatises in the manner of Cicero. His essays *De liberis instituendis* and *De laudibus philosophiae* were celebrated in their time. He next produced sermons, expositions of the Psalms, and a commentary on S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which was prohibited by the Censor. This condemnation took place under Paul III., when the reflex of the Reformation was seen in cardinals such as Reginald Pole, Morone and Contarini. Sadoleto himself always showed calm and moderation towards the Protestants,

[1] Calcagnini was born in 1479, and died in Ferrara in 1541. Gyraldi, born in 1489, died in 1552. Ferrante Borsetti, *Historia almi Ferrariae Gymnasii*, Ferrara, 1735, ii. 115, 139.

[2] *Vita* of Sadoleto, by Antonio Fiorodibello, at the beginning of *Opp. Sadoleti*, Verona, 1737, 3 vol. He is buried in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

treated Melanchthon and Calvin with consideration, and still maintained his friendly attitude towards Erasmus. We still possess the letters which passed between the two. The correspondence of Sadoleto is of even greater importance in the history of the culture of the period than that of Bembo.[1]

Sadoleto is one of the finest characters of this age, which, in spite of its moral corruption, always possessed earnest-minded souls who kept themselves free from contagion. This is shown by two other distinguished men, Gianfrancesco Pico, lord of Mirandola, and Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi. The first was nephew of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, a man versed in every kind of learning, and the devoted adherent of Savonarola, whose life he wrote.[2] He furnished the Lateran Council with a long treatise on the reform of ecclesiastical discipline.[3] He was on friendly terms with Reuchlin and Wilibald Pirkheimer. The other, Alberto Pio,

Gianfrancesco Pico and Alberto Pio.

[1] *J. Sadoleti R. E. Cardlis Epistolae quotquot extant.* 5 vol. 8vo. Rome, 1760.

[2] He belongs to the school of Ferrara; Calcagnini and Gyraldi were his friends. He was born in 1470, and was the son of Galeotto, brother of Giovanni Pico. His brother Lodovico, husband of Francesco Trivulzi, banished him from Mirandola. Restored by Julius II., he was again banished and reinstated. On October 15, 1533, he was attacked by his nephew Galeazzo, who caused him and his son Alberto to be beheaded. His four books, *De amore divino*, with a dedication to Leo X., appeared in Rome in 1516. His works were printed—though incompletely—at Basle in 1601.

[3] *Joannis Francisci Pici Mirandolae et Concordiae Comitis Oratio ad Leon. X. et Concil. Lateran. de Reformandis Ecc. moribus*, printed in the *Discursus Epistolares Politico-Theologici*, Frankfort, 1610.

who was related to Pico on his mother's side, and like Pico was unfortunate, he too having been banished from his hereditary possession of Carpi, was first ambassador of Lewis XII. in Rome in 1510, then ambassador of the Emperor at the court of Leo X. When the imperialists occupied Carpi, however, he returned to the service of the King of France and acted as his envoy to Clement VII.[1] The emperor's party feared him as an intriguer and called him a devil. He burned with hatred of the Spaniards. Amid domestic turmoils and his duties as diplomatist he acquired an unusual degree of learning and compiled numerous works. In his youth he had entertained Aldus Manutius in Carpi, and from the pupil became the protector of the great typographer. In 1495 Aldus dedicated to him his edition of Aristotle. He collected a vast library and established a printing press at Carpi. The churches built for him by Baldassare Peruzzi and the towered fortress of the Pii still show that little Carpi, lying in the most fruitful of plains, was once the seat of lordly splendour. The palace of Alberto Pio in Rome was also a centre for scholars and artists, but after the Reformation its owner turned his attention from classic studies to theology, and held disputes with Erasmus

[1] Born in 1475, he was the son of Lionello and Caterina, a sister of Giovanni Pico. Concerning the quarrels in the house of the Pii of Carpi and the intrigues of Ferrara, see Tirab., vii. p. i., lib. ii. n. vi. Alberto Pio remained in Rome until 1527 and then went to France, where he died in 1531. He was married to Cecilia Gonzaga. As the friend of Calcagnini and Gyraldi, he too belongs to the school of Ferrara, where he had studied.

first by correspondence, then by pamphlets. Thus engaged, he died in Paris in 1531.[1]

There was scarcely any scholar of prominence during Leo's time who did not enjoy reputation as a Latinist. Cardinals Farnese, Grimani and Bibiena laid claim to the distinction by their classic culture, but deserving above all as one of the most educated of Ciceronians was Adrian of Corneto.[2] The literary history of the Latin language has recorded the services of scholars such as Augustinus Valdus, Janus Parhasius, Julianus Camers, Petrus Sabinus, Longolius, Bonamicus and Latinus Juvenalis. The scope of our work obliges us to remain satisfied with noting the achievements of the time in the archaeology and historiography of the city.

The school of Pomponius and Blondus was continued. From the time of Julius II. onwards excavations were prosecuted in search of art treasures. Antiquities were investigated, inscriptions were collected, and the centre of these movements was the Roman Academy. To the time

[1] His library passed to Cardinal Marcello Cervini, then to Cardinal Sirleto, then to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, and finally fell to Pietro Ottobuoni (Alexander VIII.). Increasing during its wanderings, it was incorporated with the Vaticana by Benedict XIV. Alberto's nephew was the learned Ridolfo Pio, who became a Cardinal in 1536 and died in 1564. The Codex of Virgil, now in the Laurentiana, was originally in his library. Concerning Carpi: *Mem. storiche e documenti della città e sull' antico principato di Carpi.* Carpi, 1877.

[2] He wrote the treatises: *De vera Philosophia* and *De sermone latino et modis latine loquendi* (to Cardinal Grimani). See *H. Ferri pro linguae latin. usu epistolae adv. Alambertium, praecedit commentar. de reb. gest. et script. Hadriani Castelli Cardinalis,* Faenza, 1771.—Bruno Gebhardt, *Adrian von Corneto,* Breslau, 1886.

Descriptions of the city.

of Julius II. belong two unimportant descriptions of the city, the *Collectanea de Urbe Roma* of Fabrizio Varano, Bishop of Camerino, an epitome of Blondus, and the *Descriptio Urbis* of Raffaellus Maphaeus of Volterra, also the well-known work of the Florentine, Franciscus Albertinus. This antiquary revived the title of the Mirabilia, and attempted a description of the city on the same lines as Blondus.[1] His work is valuable on account of various statements it contains respecting the condition of buildings and antiquities. Albertini also collected inscriptions, and, encouraged by Galeotto, nephew of Julius II., dedicated his book to this Pope. All these descriptions of the city were published by Mazochi, publisher and bookseller to the Roman Academy. In 1521 Mazochi also printed the first important collection of ancient Roman inscriptions. In the dedication of his work to Mario Maffei, he bewailed the destruction of innumerable examples, which had been incurred in reducing marble to lime for new buildings. He justly spoke of the task of collection as Herculean, and excused the imperfection of his work on the plea that "countless inscriptions came to light every day, that they sprang even from the ground." Rome was strewn with marble tablets. On the walls and pavements of churches, in the courtyards

Epigraphy.

[1] *Opusculum de Mirabilibus nove et veteris urbis Rome editum a Francisco Albertino Florent.*, printed by Mazochi in 1510 and the years following. Latest edition by Aug. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886. The works mentioned in the text are to be found in *De Roma Prisca et Nova Varii Auctores*, Mazochi, 1523, with a dedication to Adrian VI.

and on the staircases of palaces, and in a thousand places among the ruins, inscriptions were found, only a small part of which now remain on their original sites.[1] Albertinus collected for Mazochi, who also drew from the manuscripts of Cyriacus, Signorili, Sabino and Fra Giocondo. And thus arose a work, which, imperfect and incorrect though it be, is highly valuable as the foundation of Roman epigraphy.[2]

Andreas Fulvius, who called himself the Antiquarius Sabinus, a member of the Academy and the successful emulator of Blondus, was already active. He first described the antiquities of the city in a Latin poem which he presented to Leo in 1513.[3] The Pope suggested the sensible idea of

Andrea Fulvio.

[1] Mazochi arranged the inscriptions according to the regions and their provenance. The greater number were in the Palazzo Porcari, then in the houses of the Valle, Colocci, Pichi, Capranica, Mellini, De Planca, Ciampolini, Tomarozzi, Maffei, Astalli, Mattei, Lalli, of Pomponius Laetus and Platina. Mazochi gives a drawing of the actual monuments on which inscriptions are found, but they are not accurate.

[2] Jacobus Mazochius, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis Romae*, 1521. It is preceded by the work of Valer. Probus, *De notis antiquar. literar.*, the text of which was corrected by Mariangelus Accursius. It contains at the end the Privilegium given to the printer by Leo X. on November 30, 1517. With Mazochi's collection, which only includes Rome and the neighbourhood, begin the scientific labours of Roman epigraphy, which have now attained the gigantic dimensions of the Corpus Inscriptionem. See Henzen on the collection of Inscriptions of the city of Rome during the period from Cyriacus to Mazochi: *Monatsbericht der Königl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, June 1868.

[3] *Ad Div. Leonem X. P. M. De antiquitatib. Urbis Andreae Fulvii Carmen de Urbe Roma. Impress. Romae per* [illegible] *Bibliopol.* A. 1513. The first work (kn

turning the production into prose, and hence gave rise to the valuable work, "Concerning the Antiquities of Rome," the first slight advance on the work of Blondus. Fulvius only finished it in the reign of Clement VII., to whom it was dedicated. Printed in 1527,[1] it was followed in 1534 by the epoch-making work of Marlianus, a Milanese.[2] It is worthy of remark that the study of archaeology had now extended beyond Rome, and invaded the East. For Calcagnini and Pierius Valerianus of Belluno compiled writings on Egyptian antiquities. It is possible that Valerianus' work on hieroglyphics may have been suggested by the Roman obelisks.[3] This learned archaeologist, who also described the antiquities of Belluno, was one of the best Latin poets of his time. He dwelt in Rome from the year 1509, where he was the favourite of Leo X. and the most intimate friend of Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo. Architects sketched the ancient buildings

Pierius Valerianus.

circumstances of whose life are obscure, is the *Fulvii Sabini Ars metrica . . . Impr. Romae* 1487 (in Laire).

[1] Andr. Fulvius Antiquarius, *Antiquitates Urbis Romae*, fol. With the Privilegium of Clement VII. of February 15, 1517. Then *A. Fulvii Sabini Antiquarii de urbis antiquitatib. libri quinque, Romae* 1545, *per M. Valerium Doricum et Aloisium Fratrem Brixianos.*

[2] *Barthol. Marlianus Eques D. Petri Urbis Romae Topographia. Romae* 1534. He revised this edition in that of the year 1544.

[3] *Joh. Pierii Valeriani Hieroglyphica seu de sacris Aegyptior. aliarumq. gentium literis Commentarii*, Ven. 1604. In the Introduction dedicated to Duke Cosimo he says, that many held these studies to be useless: *cum hoc ipso tempore nullus—sit: qui vel obeliscos qui Romae aut alibi adhuc visuntur—interpretari possit.* His work is a remarkable attempt to explain the symbolism of the Egyptian and ancient mythology.

of Rome; for instance, Baldassare Peruzzi, whose drawings were utilised by Sebastiano Serlio of Bologna in his work on architecture.[1] The sketch-book of the elder Sangallo, containing many drawings of the Roman monuments, is still preserved in the Barberini library. In the latter years of his life Raffaelle conceived with enthusiasm the idea of drawing a plan of the entire city, in which the monuments were to be depicted in their original form. He encouraged the studies of his friend Fulvius, assisted by whose learning he himself investigated the city, taking measurements of monuments and instituting excavations for others. At this period the theory of architecture was governed by the rules of Vitruvius, the first critical and illustrated edition of whose works was produced in Venice in 1511 by the learned architect and antiquary, the companion of Aldus Fra Giocondo of Verona. Raffaelle, who diligently studied Vitruvius, had his writings translated for his own use into Italian by Marco Fabio Calvi of Ravenna, who had already translated Hippocrates. This amiable old man dwelt like a frugal Diogenes in the midst of voluptuous Rome, and mainly in Raffaelle's house.[2]

Raffaelle's plan of the city.

[1] Vasari, viii. 234. Sebast. Serlio, *Il terzo libro nel quale si figurano e si descrivono le antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1544, fol. About the same date: *Tabulae nonnullae quibus repraesentantur aliquot vetusta aedificia Romana*, by Ant. Labaco. The first edition has become extremely rare. Only the later editions have the title: *Antonio Labacco Libro appartenente all' architettura, nel qual si figurano alcune notabili antichità di Roma.*

[2] The portrait of this *Senex stoicae probitatis* is given by Calcagnini

As architect of S. Peter's, the great artist received the post of custodian of all the antiquities of Rome and the city territory, was necessarily informed of every excavation, and brought into active correspondence with the archaeologists.[1] He thus conceived the thought of making an illustrated plan of the city, an idea into which Leo X. entered with ardour. In a memorable letter to the Pope the artist explains his scheme.[2] He begins with a lament over the destruction of the illustrious Queen of the World, of whom only the skeleton remained. The blame of this ruin he ascribed to Goths, Vandals and the earlier popes, who allowed the grandest monuments to be burnt for lime. He enumerates the ancient buildings the destruction of which he had himself witnessed; the Meta of Romulus, the Arch of Entrance to the Baths of Diocletian, the Temple of Ceres on the Via Sacra, the Forum Transitorium, a great part of the Basilica on the

Raffaelle's Letter to Leo X.

in *Epistolar. Criticar. et Familiar.*, lib. vii. n. 27 : to Jacob Ziegler. The MS. of the translation of Vitruvius made for Raffaelle came into the possession of the Munich Library (Cod. ital. 216). Whether the marginal glosses in it are due to Raffaelle is, however, very doubtful.

[1] Appointment of Raffaelle by Brief *VI. Kal. Sept. A. III.* in Bembi, *Ep. Leonis X.*, ix., n. 51.

[2] This letter is found in *Lett. di Negozi del Conte Bald. Castiglione*, Padua, 1733 and 1769, vol. i. It was first ascribed to Castiglione, afterwards claimed for Raffaelle by Daniele Francesconi, in Florence, in 1799. *Lettera sulle antichità di Roma scritta da Raffaello d' Urbino a P. Leone X.*, edited by P. E. Visconti, Rome, 1834. The Munich Library contains a MS. of the letter, from which Passavant (*Leben Rafael's*, iii. 43) edited the text. E. Müntz (*Raphaël, sa vie, son oeuvre et son temps*, Paris, 1881, p. 603) has expressed decided views in favour of Raffaelle's authorship.

Forum, and many beautiful columns, friezes and architraves.[1] He goes on to say that he had received orders from Leo, as far as possible, to sketch ancient Rome and reproduce in outline the buildings of antiquity.

Raffaelle's letter belongs to the year 1518 or 1519. The artist actually compiled the plan of the city according to the fourteen regions, and was occupied in making drawings until within a few days of his death. Fulvius, his learned adviser, and other contemporaries, speak of his work: Calcagnini extols the undertaking as that of a heaven-sent genius, and writes verses on the subject.[2] In verse also Castiglione, who probably bore an important part in the scheme, deplores the interruption of the

[1] The Meta (Romuli) in the Borgo had already been destroyed by Alex. VI. in 1499; its last traces were not swept away until the time of Julius II. This Pope gave the spot on which it stood as a site for the School of Choristers for the Sistine Chapel: *domos in area sive soli olim aedificii publici Metae nuncupati: Bullar. vat.*, ii. 350; see also the Brief of July, 1512, in E. Müntz, *Les antiq. de la ville de Rome*, p. 21 f.—Cardinal Adrian prevented the erection of these houses on account of his palace. The *arco mal aventurato* is obscure to me. Raffaelle accuses Monsig. Bartol. Rovere, nephew of Julius II., of being the chief destroyer. He says: *ardirei dire che tutta questa Roma nuova che ora si vede—tutta è fabbricata di calce di marmi antichi.* Albertinus (about 1509) saw the arches of Theodosius and Gratian, of Valentinian, Aemilius Paulus, Fabianus, etc., destroyed and burnt down for lime. *Opuscul.*, fol. 59.

[2] He speaks of it in a letter to Ziegler. His lines are:

Raphaelis Sanctii Urbinatis industria.
Tot proceres Romam, tam longa struxerat aetas,
Totque hostes et tot saecula diruerunt;
Nunc Romam in Roma querit, reperitque Raphael.
Quaerere magni hominis sed reperire Dei est.

project by the death of the great artist.[1] Raffaelle had only finished the first region, and unfortunately his drawings have either entirely perished, or as yet remained undiscovered.[2] And as he also made use of the scientific knowledge of Calvi, it follows that a work of this archaeologist must have been associated with Raffaelle's enterprise, namely, "The Picture of the Ancient City of Rome with the Regions," which appeared in 1532. These "schemata" of the regions, rude illustrations in woodcut, are of a surprisingly childish and clumsy character.[3] The attempts to produce an illustrated restoration of Rome, such as those made from Piero Ligorio in the middle of the sixteenth century, and down to Canina, may possess but a doubtful value, for Raffaelle himself would probably have failed in such an undertaking. Nevertheless the attempt of the immortal artist exercised a posthumous influence; and had it not been for his example, it is scarcely likely that the great plan

[1] *Tu quoque dum toto laniatam corpore Romam*
Componis miro Raphael ingenio,
Atque urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus,
Movisti superum invidiam, indignataque mors est,
Te dudum extinctis reddere posse animam.—
Balth. Castil. Carmina, p. 150, ed. Romae, 1760.

[2] Letter of the Venetian Marcant. Michiel in Fiorillo, *Kleine Schriften artistischen Inhalts*, p. 286. Cicognara, *Vita e le opere di M. Michiel* (*Memorie dell' Istit. Veneto*, ix. 3, 410). Müntz, *Raphaël et l'antiquité*, c. 18 of the above-named work.

[3] Calvus had dedicated his work to Clement VII. It was printed at Basle by Froben in 1556: *Fabius Calvus Rhavennas Antiq. Urbis Rom. cum Regionib. Simulachrum.* Two unpublished works of Calvo, *De nummis* and *Unciae divisio*, are preserved in the Vaticana.

of the city made by Leonardo Buffalini would ever have come into existence.[1]

History of the city.

But while archaeological science continued to develop, the history of the city remained silent. The Roman chronicles found no continuator after Infessura, for the civic history of the city was ended. The libraries indeed contain Roman diaries of the beginning of the sixteenth century; these, however, are nothing more than fugitive notices. But the work of Paris de Grassis, who continued Burkard's diary, although dull, is of great value for the reign of Julius II.[2] His contemporary and colleague, Blasius Baroni Martinelli of Cesena, likewise wrote a diary, which covers the reigns of the popes from January 1518 to January 1538. It is, however, very defective.[3]

The general history of the time found its narrators

[1] It appeared in twenty woodcuts in 1551. This work, which represented Rome with its antiquities at this period, disappeared in the troubles of the French Revolution. Only an imperfect copy was preserved in the Barberina. A perfect copy in pen and ink was, however, discovered at Cuneo, in 1874, from which Buffalini's plan has been printed (Roma, 1879, fol.). See concerning it Giov. Beltrani, *L. Buffalini e la sua pianta topogr. di Roma*, Firenze, 1880. Nolli's plan did not follow until 1748.

[2] G. Hoffmann, *Nova Scriptor. ac Monum. Coll.*, Lips. 1731. T. I. only gives excerpts from 1518 onwards.—Paris, brother of Card. Achilles, Bishop of Pesaro in 1513, died in 1528. The Chigi MS. (4 vol.) is entitled *Paris de Grassis Ceremoniale tempore Julii P. II.* It begins with May 26, 1504. Vol. iv. comprises the reign of Leo X. and closes with his obsequies.

[3] Blasius became Master of the Ceremonies on January 1, 1518. His diary is to be found in several of the Roman libraries; the Munich Library contains a MS., together with the diaries of Burkard and Paris.

in Rome. Chief of these is reckoned Sigismondo dei Conti, a cultivated Humanist and a sympathetic witness of the remarkable events under the reigns of successive popes down to the end of Julius II.'s days. Conti belonged to a distinguished family of Foligno, whence in his youth he came to Rome. Here his talents soon rendered him conspicuous. He became a member of the Roman Academy and Apostolic Scriptor under Sixtus IV. In 1480 he accompanied Cardinal Julian, afterwards Pope Julius II., on his mission to Belgium. Two years later Sixtus IV. sent him as his envoy to Venice to negotiate peace with the republic. Conti remained Apostolic Secretary under Sixtus's successors, and at length became Prefect of the Reverenda Fabbrica of S. Peter, in which office he formed a close intimacy with Raffaelle. The great artist painted for him the so-called Madonna di Foligno, in which he introduced Conti's portrait. He died, highly respected, at the age of eighty, in February 1512.

He left a history of his time in seventeen books, in Latin, dealing with the period from Sixtus IV. to Julius II. (1475–1510), a work which was first printed in Rome in 1883.[1] It was written in the leisure of his later years, from personal recollection and with the aid of documents, either in his own possession or accessible to him. This work was intended above all others to be a literary product, in which the

[1] Sigismondo dei Conti da Foligno, *Le Storie de' suoi tempi dal 1475–1510. Ora la prima volta pubblicate nel testo latino con versione italiana a fronte.* 2 vol. Roma, 1883. —The Latin title is *Historiarum sui temporis libri* 17.

author hoped to shine pre-eminent both in style and language; it possesses, however, nothing of the art of a Jovius. It is a feeble picture of the period, equally devoid of the insight of the statesman, of the fidelity of the diarist, and of the sincerity and truthfulness of the historian. The author is above everything the panegyrist of the Papacy and the popes of whom he treats. Where we expect to find fresh information concerning the chief personages of the time, as more especially concerning Alexander Borgia, we search in vain. Nowhere does Conti evince the slightest moral indignation at the crimes of this Pope or of his house. The author is truly the son of his time, an Epicurean and jovial worldling. Nevertheless his history deserved publication, completing, as it does, the series of contemporary accounts, which it either confirms or amplifies by details. Its most attractive feature is the knowledge it conveys of the impression made by the men and events of the time on an eye-witness belonging to the most exalted circle in papal Rome.

Cardinal Egidius wrote a universal history, which has remained unpublished, and as a monstrous medley of theology and history is not even worthy of print.[1] Egidius Canisius was born at Viterbo about 1470. In his youth he became an Augustinian, and was summoned to Rome under Alexander VI. He shone henceforth as Latin preacher, and

[1] *Hist. Viginti Seculor. per totid. Psalmos conscripta* (MS. in the Angelica). The scattered notices therein extend to Leo X. They contain candid opinions on the popes of the Renascence and a severe condemnation of Alex. VI.

opened the Council on May 7, 1512, with a speech that excited great admiration.[1] He was already general of his order; in 1517 he became a cardinal, in 1518 legate to Charles of Spain. He died on November 21, 1532, in Rome, where he was buried in the Church of the Augustinians. Egidius, a man who loved the truth, who never disguised from himself the corrupt conditions of the Church, lived solely for his multifarious studies. He was a Latin and Greek scholar, and learned Chaldaic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He expounded the Talmud, wrote on Hebrew grammar, and composed critical commentaries on the Biblical text, treatises on Plato and Aristotle, and theological works. But the variety of his studies prevented him from producing any monumental work. The catalogue of his writings, for the most part unprinted, shows an amazing degree of literary activity.[2] More fortunate was his contemporary Raffaelle of Volterra, a member of the cultured house of Maffei, a son of Gherardo, who under Pius II. was professor of law in Rome. Here Raffaelle dwelt from 1466, mainly as secretary to successive popes.[3] This pious and

Raffaelle Maffei (Volaterranus).

[1] *Oratio prima Synodi Lateran. habita per Egidium Viterbien. Augustiniani ord. Generalem*, printed in Rome in 1512.

[2] He is found under his name in the *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* of Ossinger, Ingolst., 1768. Among his works are 8 volumes *Variar Epistolar.* His book *De moribus Turcarum* was lost. In his youth he wrote a poem in stanzas, *Caccia d'Amore* (printed in Venice in 1537), a bombastic allegory. He also wrote sonnets to Vittoria Colonna. Trucchi (*Poesie Italiane inedite*, Prato, 1847, iii. 126) gives some madrigals by him.—See *Oratio in funere Aegidii Canisii Card. Viterb.* by Lorenzo Grana, *Anecdota Litteraria*, iv. 310.

[3] Born in 1451, he died January 25, 1522. His brother was Mario,

serious man compiled a work which was remarkable for the time: "Thirty-eight books of City Commentaries." In these he dealt with every branch of learning, and thus compiled an encyclopedia of everything worthy of note. This monument of surprising industry he dedicated to Julius II.[1] In it he includes short biographies of different popes of the Renascence period and the histories of celebrated men, both of ancient and modern times, ranged in alphabetical order.

Paulus Jovius.

The Latin historian of Rome, however, in the first half of the sixteenth century is Paulus Jovius, who was born at Como on April 14, 1483. He was the pupil of his learned brother Benedetto, a disciple of Pomponazzo, and was originally a physician. In 1516 he came to Rome, whither he brought the beginning of his historical work. He read part aloud to the Pope, who declared that since Livy nothing finer had ever been produced. Henceforward Jovius remained in Rome.[2] In 1528 Clement VII. made

Bishop of Aquino, afterwards of Cavaillon. Raffaelle translated, but with little success, the Odyssey into prose (*Odyssea Homeri per Raph. Volaterr. in Latin. conversa, per Jacob. Mazochium, Romae*, 1510), Procopius, and Xenophon's Oeconomicus. He wrote a short work on the antiquities of Rome. Finally he joined the Augustinians. Bened. Falconcini, *Vita di Raffaello Maffei detto il Volaterrano*, Roma, 1722.

[1] *Commentarior. urbanor.* 38 *libri*, Lugduni, 1552, fol. He wrote this work in Rome, hence its title. It is divided into three parts, *Geographia; Anthropologia* (History); *Philologia* (Science). In the first he gives an historic outline of the different countries. Lib. xii. of the Anthrop. is dedicated to the history of the Popes until Pius III. Unfortunately he did not give a very circumstantial account of the popes of his own time.

[2] In 1524 he printed at Rome his work *De Piscibus Romanis*, for

him Bishop of Nocera, but as he failed to receive the dignity of Cardinal, he retired to his country seat at Como in 1549. He died in Florence December 11, 1552.

Jovius' chief work embraces (with a few interruptions due to the loss of some of the forty-five books of which it is composed) the history of peoples and states from 1494 to 1547.[1] He also wrote the biographies of celebrated contemporaries; Alfonso I., Gonsalvo, Popes Leo X. and Adrian VI., Pescara, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, pictures of the time characterised by acuteness of observation and wealth of material. Incited thereto by the portraits which he had collected in his beautiful villa, he also wrote the Eulogium of celebrated men of ancient and modern times. The very idea of forming such a collection shows the vast extent of the horizon which lay before the eyes of the Italian. Although the subjects of the greater number of eulogies are Italians, Jovius also included Germans, such as Agricola, Reuchlin, Erasmus, Agrippa, Pirkheimer, Albert Kranz, and Englishmen, Brabantines, Greeks, Frenchmen and Spaniards, and closes his portraits with an appeal to all the important men in Europe to aid him in completing his collection.[2]

he was still prosecuting his studies as a naturalist. He was present at the Congress of Bologna, and thence described to a friend, on December 15, 1515, the entrance of the King. In his letter he says: *limo l'historia. Ne altro penso che finirla e publicarla, el papa ne ha lecto un quinterno, et molto ce ha commendato quantunque immeritamente.* I found the letter in Marin Sanuto, vol. xxi. fol. 226.

[1] The first edition is the Florentine of 1550.

[2] *Pauli Jovii Elogia Virorum literis illustrium, quotquot vel nostra,*

Jovius wrote a description of the lake of Como, one of England, another of Russia, and compiled some commentaries on Turkey. But in Italian he only produced a treatise on Mottoes and Devices, trivialities which were at that time the fashion.[1] At this period, when the political life of Italy came to a close, appeared her great national historians. But while Machiavelli, Guicciardini and Varchi wrote in Italian, Jovius remained a Latinist, and was consequently only read by scholars. He challenged criticism by his style, and yet more by the very contents of his works. Jovius himself acknowledged that he wrote for the sake of gain, that he used now a silver, now a golden pen. He is characterless and even malicious; but he looked on things and people with the eyes of an experienced man of the world, and frequently treated them with candour.[2] On the other hand, he possessed the intellect neither of the statesman nor of the historian of culture. His gifts remind us of those of Aeneas Sylvius. His works, which lack artistic ability as well as depth of thought, are more or less descriptions of persons or events, which, although revealing not the smallest perception of the hidden current of the age, are nevertheless characteristically illumined by it. We may call them a Roman product, since

vel avorum memoria vixere. Basle, fol., 1577. The work is dedicated to Ottaviano Farnese. The second and longer part contains the *Elogia Viror. bellica virtute illustrium.*

[1] *Ragionamento sopra i Motti e Disegni d'Arme e d'Amore.*

[2] Ranke has reduced the judgments passed on this author to their just proportion and restored Paulus Jovius to his rights: *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber.* Berlin, 1824.

they had their origin in Rome, where the author passed the greater part of his life, and where he was closely acquainted with the men of prominence. His writings, especially the biographical, have the charm of personal life and are a species of historic fresco-painting.

Study of Greek.

Side by side with Latin, but with less success, Greek studies were prosecuted in Rome. They had not vanished with Bessarion, although they met with less encouragement in Rome than in Florence or Venice. In Florence had been founded the school of Poliziano; in Venice that of Aldus; and with these two centres almost all Greek scholars stood in touch. The first Greek grammar, that of Urbanus Valerianus, had already been printed in Venice about 1497. In 1507 Cornelius Benignius of Viterbo brought out a new edition of Ptolemy in Rome. In 1508 Julius II. summoned the Hellenist Scipio Forteguerra, or Carteromachus, a native of Pistoja, to Rome as tutor to Galeotto. Another pupil of Poliziano, and a favourite of the Pope, Guarino of Favera from the March of Camerino (called also Varinus, Phavorinus and Camers) had compiled the first Thesaurus of the Greek language for Aldus in 1496. He was made Bishop of Nocera, and acted as custodian of the private library of Leo X. In 1517, he dedicated his Latin translation of the Greek apophthegms collected by John Stobaeus to the Pope, and afterwards compiled the Greek dictionary which was printed by Calliergus in 1523. He died at Nocera in 1537.[1]

[1] See concerning him the exhaustive article in Apostolo Zeno, *Giornale de' Letterati*, xix. 89 *sq.*

Scarcely had Leo X. succeeded to the Papacy when he summoned to Rome the celebrated John Lascaris, a man of illustrious Byzantine family. He had found an asylum with Bessarion, had then acquired the favour of Lorenzo Medici, and been taken by Charles VIII. to France, where Budaeus became his pupil.[1] For years he served Lewis XII. as ambassador in Venice. Under his guidance Leo founded a school of Greek literature, the Gymnasium *Caballini Montis* in the palace of the Cardinal of Sion. In 1516 he also summoned Lascaris's pupil Marcus Musurus, a native of Crete, who had taught with renown in Padua and Venice, and who had dedicated to the Pope a panegyric on Plato at the end of the Aldine edition of this author. In reward he received the bishopric of Malvasia, but died in Rome in 1517.[2] Young Greeks, whom the Pope on the advice of Lascaris and Musurus invited to Rome, were admitted to the Gymnasium on the

John Lascaris.

Marcus Musurus.

[1] Börner, says his father (whom he calls Theodore), had emigrated to Venice, *De doctis hom. Graecis.*—Tirab., vii. ii., lib. 3 n. 10.

[2] See the Greek poem in Roscoe, ii. The poet deifies Leo and celebrates Lascaris and Bembo. He says: Aldus would not accept a reward in gold, only the liberation of Italy and Greece. At the close he calls on Leo to rekindle the sacred flame of Hellenic culture. Musurus was buried in S. Maria della Pace, where his epitaph said:

Musure, o mansure parum, properata tulisti
Praemia; namque cito tradita; rapta cito.

Given by Jovius (*Elog.*, p. 58), who maintains that Musurus died of annoyance because he was not made a Cardinal. In 1516 Musurus had edited in Venice the Aldine edition of Pausanias, in the preface to which he extols Leo's solicitude for Greek studies.

Quirinal.[1] Lascaris and Musurus were also such excellent Latin scholars as to arouse the admiration of Erasmus.[2] Basilius Chalcondyles, son of the celebrated Demetrius, also enjoyed a great reputation.

Printing of Greek in Rome.

Leo established a Greek printing press, from which in 1517 and 1518 were issued the Scholia of Homer, of Sophocles and the Homeric Questions of Porphyry. A short time before Chigi had also set up a Greek press in his house, and hence about 1515 was issued the first Greek book printed in Rome, an edition of Pindar, under the auspices of Cornelius Benignius. It was followed a year later by Theocritus. The printer was Zacharias Calliergus of Crete.

Lascaris left Rome in 1518 to superintend the organisation of the royal library at Fontainebleau. He afterwards again acted as envoy of Francis I. at Venice. He returned to Rome under Clement VII., again under Paul III., and died here at the age of ninety in 1535. This celebrated man is buried in S. Agata on the Quirinal; touching inscriptions which he wrote for his wife Katherine, daughter of Rhallus of Sparta, and for himself lament the fate of the exile, and thank Italy for

[1] In 1513 Bembo wrote to Musurus on this subject on behalf of Leo: *Rom. 8 Id. Aug. 1513. Lett. di Bembo*, Opp. iv. lib. iv. 8.

[2] He calls Musurus *latinae linguae usque ad miraculum doctus, quod vix ulli Graeco contigit, praeter Theodorum Gazam et Joannem Lascarem, qui adhuc in vivis est.* Epistol. 671, p. 788.

the hospitality which she gave to the unfortunate children of Hellas.

Here is laid Lascaris, in an alien soil; yet not all too strange, O stranger, can he call the land; gracious indeed was it unto him. Nevertheless is his heart sore, for that it is no more granted to Achaea's sons to rest in free graves in their fatherland.[1]

Lascaris, whose greatness rested more on his personal influence than on his meagre writings, closed the series of those distinguished Greek fugitives, who appeared in Italy with Chrysoloras. His pupils Erasmus and Budaeus carried their Greek learning back to their native countries, where the study was further pursued, while in Italy it died out after the middle of the sixteenth century. The exalted reputation of the Italian Humanists meanwhile declined. Gyraldi already ventured to dedicate to his friend Gianfrancesco Pico a satire against the learned, in which he scourges their futility as well as their vices. This memorable lampoon is the expression of the satiety amounting to disgust inspired by humanistic culture which lacked the firm basis of free national life in Italy.[2] At the end of his Elogia, Jovius addresses

[1] Λάσκαρις ἀλλοδαπῇ γαίῃ ἐνικάτθετο, γαίην
Οὔτι λίην ξείνην, ὦ ξένε, μεμφόμενος.
Εὔρατο μειλιχίην, ἀλλ' ἄχθεται, εἴπερ Ἀχαιοῖς
Οὐδ' ἔτι χοῦν χεύει πατρὶς ἐλευθέριον.

[2] *Progymnasma adv. literas et literatos*, in Opp. ii. 431. He excuses himself on the ground that this was only a sophistic performance; it contained, however, an element of bitter earnestness. In the time of Valla he would have been stoned as a desecrator of the Temple of literature.

the following melancholy farewell to the scholars of his nation, who lost their supremacy in Europe.

Decay of Humanism in Italy.

"Through the changes of the stars it seems to have come to pass that the ice-cold northern skies of Germany have softened and stirred the formerly rude and indolent intellects of that land. The Germans are no longer satisfied with their ancient warlike fame, the firm discipline and defiant strength with which they wrested the honours of Mars from the Romans; they have also robbed exhausted Greece and slumbering Italy of the ornaments of peace, of learning, and the flower of the arts. For even in the times of our fathers were architects, then painters, sculptors, mathematicians, skilled artisans, engineers of aqueducts, and surveyors imported from Germany. No wonder that they have brought us the marvellous discovery of printing and the terrible bronze cannons. Yet is this hostile century not so beneficent a mother to them, nor so harsh a step-mother to us, as not to leave us something of our ancient heritage. If, after the almost utter loss of freedom, we may still glory in anything, we may boast that we hold the citadel of imperishable eloquence, in which we, if it pleases the Muses, may defend the genuine Roman aristocracy of intellect against the foreigner. Every citizen must carefully guard this post, in order that under the banner of Bembo and Sadoleto we may heroically defend the remains of the great bequest of our forefathers. But, alas! this consolation of our misery is almost worthless, since not without our complicity would our liberty have perished; and liberty alone is the

foster-mother of the studies which awake and diffuse all that is noble and beautiful."

3. NEO-LATIN POETRY—LEO X. AND THE POETS—THE *DE POETIS URBANIS* OF ARSILLI—THE ELOGIA OF JOVIUS—GYRALDI'S LITERARY HISTORY—VALERIANUS "ON THE MISFORTUNES OF AUTHORS"—THE CORYCIANA — PASQUINADES — EVANGELISTA MADDALENI — CAMILLO PORZIO — THE MELLINI — THE TRIAL OF LONGOLIUS—BLOSIUS PALLADIUS—CASANOVA—ADRIAN OF CORNETO—MARCANTONIUS FLAMINIUS—GUIDO POSTHUMUS SILVESTER—SANNAZARO—VIDA—FRACASTORO—NAVAGERO.

With the end of the fifteenth century appeared the most luxuriant second bloom of Latin poetry. It stood among the Italians rooted in the soil of their ancient country, nevertheless it could only survive as an academic production in the higher circles of society, and never was the boundary line of culture more sharply drawn than in the age of classic studies, when popular schools of literature were unknown.

Neo-Latin poetry.

In our modern culture neo-Latin poetry is important as a stage of purification and of transition through classicism. As a poetic product it excites the impression of something obsolete or superfluous. The formal artificiality of the style, which was a principle even of ancient Latin literature, is still more offensive in its imitation, and the revival of the Olympic machinery of Paganism can only produce the effect of masquerade. If we examine th

eclogues, odes, elegies, and epics of the sixteenth century, we deplore their authors as resuscitators of lifeless literary material. These neo-Latinists, however, found their reward in their own time when they justified their right to existence. Had it not been for the reproduction of classic antiquity in the Renascence, the spirit of the Greeks and Romans would have been to us nothing but a lifeless and unintelligible formula. The Renascence nursed it back to life, when to the criticism of the philologist was united the imagination of the poet; this was the life-blood of which the classic shades drank in order to live again for after generations. It was essentially these now almost forgotten poets of the Renascence who restored to us the shades from Hades. If their services in the revival of the antique and in the elaborate study of the ancient languages in general were great, still greater were they in the formation of taste for noble and beautiful form. Educated society, which they adorned with an aesthetic luxury, could dispense with them as little as with artists. They were esteemed the legitimate aristocracy of poets of the time; to their contemporaries they made it appear that their generation was as illustrious as that of ancient times, and had entered on full possession of classic culture. In truth, no triumph appeared greater than this possession, of which the production of a second Latin literature seemed a proof. This second literature, which appeared in the age of printing, is, strange to think, so vast, that the ancient authors who have survived as monuments

of the great Roman world, taken collectively, form but an insignificant band in comparison to the literary company of the Renascence. The line between production and reproduction was not drawn, the boundaries between periods were scarcely recognised. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the cultured Italians regarded themselves essentially as Latins, the Romans as genuine Romans; and by an intellectual process of transformation they were indeed nearer the ancients than their own ancestors had been in the eighth and tenth centuries.

In the time of Leo X. a poet, passing in review the other living poets of Rome, was able with entire naïveté to say, that he had long doubted which age was worthier of the laurel, his own or that of Augustus. If he considered the ancients the more fortunate, it was simply because they had greater patrons; were circumstances equal, the modern lyre would have excited the envy of the earlier generation.[1] The banal complaint of Arsilli was unfounded, for never was poetic talent more lavishly illumined with gold by a "sun" than the Roman in the time of Leo X. Raffaelle placed the poets and musicians on the Vatican Parnassus, which the liberal Pope made for them also a Garden of

Patronage given by Leo X.

[1] *Tempore Apollineae praesentia frondis honorem,*
Illius an laudem saecula prisca ferant.
Paule, diu mecum demorsis unguibus aequa
Sub trutina examen, judiciumque traho—

Thus writes Francesco Arsilli at the beginning of *De Poetis Urbanis*, printed at the end of the Coryciana and in Tiraboschi, vii. p. 3 at the end.

the Hesperides. A poem if merely readable was a passport to his favour. Andrea Marone, who accompanied his verses with the viol, received a canonry for a single improvisation. Leo bestowed the title of Count and a fortress on Giammaria, a lute player and a Jew.[1] He presented the brilliant Accolti with a dukedom. Every day at noon the Vatican stood open to the poets, who arrived when the cithern-players had left.[2] Every day poets took their seats at the papal table, with improvisatori such as Marone, Brandolini and Querno. This "impudent swarm of poets" pursued the Pope, as serious-minded men complained, wherever he went, and stood in the palace, the loggia, the lemon-garden, in his bedroom, and hindered him in the fulfilment of his duties. They were compared in derision to apes, and the comparison suggested to Valerianus his poem "The Ape," in which with brilliant humour he pointed out the services of these amusing monkeys and entreated the continuance of the favour of the "Sun-lion."[3]

The tastes of Leo X. called forth poets in swarms out of the soil. Their name was legion because their art was mainly amateurish. The overflow

[1] *Johem Mariam quendam Hebraeum, tangendis fidibus clarum, Verrutio oppido condonatum, comitatus dignitate exornavit: Leonis X. Vita anonyma*, p. 591.

[2] Jovius, *Elogia* to *Guido Posthumus*, p. 131.

[3] *Ecce ajunt, vere nunc Simia vana Leonem*
Exagitat, viden' ut turba importuna poetae!
Quamprimum nostro illuxit Leo Maximus orbi,
Hunc misere affligunt quocumque in limine— —

Sermo, cui titulus est Simia, ad Leon. X.: in the edition of the poetry of Valerianus, Ferrara, 1550, p. 26.

of the culture of the classic languages became poetry. It was the childhood of philology, when grammarians—before degenerating into pedants—became enamoured of the Muses of Olympus. There was no accomplished Latinist who had not written poetry; philological learning and the poetic art were still undivided. And more particularly the epigram-form, which was easy of treatment, afforded opportunity for innumerable verses. Anyone who wrote epigrams on statues, gods, heroes or philosophers, on men or women of ancient or modern times, claimed to be regarded as a poet.[1] About 1520 more admired poets were to be found in Rome than in the time of Virgil, and every one of these professors, lawyers and monsignori was a Tibullus, a Horace, or a Maro. Their verses happily have for the most part perished, but a great number have been preserved. We are acquainted with the names of several from the literary histories of the time, histories which already occupied themselves with contemporary poets as with a power. Already with Petrarch and Filippo Villani had arisen the first beginnings of the biographies of scholars, among whom poets were reckoned. About 1455 Bartolomeo Fazio compiled his work, "*De viris illustribus*," and before the end of the fifteenth century Paolo Cortese wrote his treatise, "*De hominibus doctis*."[2] In the time of

Beginning of the history of literature.

[1] The number of epigrams written at this period is stupendous; collections in manuscript are found in various libraries. Deserving of mention is *Lat. Cl. XII. Cod. CCX.* in the Marciana.

[2] Printed in Florence in 1734. P. Cortese was born in Rome in 1465, where his father Antonio, author of an Antivalla, was papal

Leo, however, independent works were dedicated to the poets. Thus a physician living in Rome, Francesco Arsilli of Sinigaglia, wrote a poem on literature called "Concerning the city poets."[1] It contains an epigrammatic series of over a hundred portraits of contemporaries, who dwelt on Leo's Parnassus. Arsilli wove his verses into a huge crown of honour, and if his agreeable praises excite many doubts, we nevertheless recognise how great was the creative impulse and how abundant intellectual talent in Rome.[2] He dedicated the most grateful of all poems to Jovius, and Jovius afterwards in writing the Elogia spoke of several of the poets mentioned by Arsilli. At the same time as Arsilli, Gyraldi wrote in Rome a dialogue, "On the poets of his time." To this he added a second, written in Ferrara in 1548, so that in his work we possess

Francesco Arsilli.

Gyraldi.

secretary. The entire family was distinguished by culture. Paolo's brothers, Alessandro and Lattanzio, were renowned Latinists. Gregorio Cortese of Modena, a favourite of Leo X. and a cardinal under Paul III. (he died in 1548), was a celebrated theologian. Paolo also wrote ten books *in Sententias*, a theological compendium, and *De Cardinalatu*, which he dedicated to Julius II. His villa, Castello Cortesiano in Tuscany, was an Academy of Scholars. He died in 1510.

[1] *De poetis Urbanis.* Arsilli lived in Rome until 1527, when he returned to Sinigaglia. He died about 1540. Tirab., vii. iii. 198. Jovius celebrates him in his elogium: *Natura enim frugi, et aureae libertatis custos, Vaticanam aulam, et Potentium limina, contumaci quadam superbia devitabat*—a fine tribute.

[2] Goritz, to whom the poet Silvano had sent this work, says of it: *Arsillo vero etiam atque etiam debeo, qui tantos illos viros, quorum opera pene spiro et vigeo, quorum ope nomen obtineo, atque umbris subtrahor, uno libello nobili complexus est, verissimas uniuscujusque laudes attingens, et quodammodo collocatos in musarum concilio, posteritati plane intuendos exhibet.*

the first general history of poetic literature.[1] The treatise of Valerianus, "On the misfortunes of authors," in which this melancholy theme is illustrated by the facts of the time, may also be regarded as a contribution to the history of literature.[2] Valerianus.

Arsilli, Jovius, Gyraldi, Valerianus are consequently our authorities concerning the poets of the first half of the sixteenth century. But there was also produced a first Almanac of the Roman Muses, the "Coryciana," the most pleasing literary monument of the age of Leo X. These are verses which the poets of Rome compiled to the honour of Goritz and on S. Anna's day deposited in the chapel where the group of Sansovino stood. As they invariably celebrated the same object,—the praises of their guest, the artist and the saint,—their unwearied exertion in their art deserves The Coryciana.

[1] *De Poetis nostror. tempor. Dialogi duo*, Opp. ii. The interlocutors are Alessandro Rangone, Giulio Sadoleto, brother of the Cardinal, and Gyraldi. This work is preceded by the same author's *Hist. Poetar. tam Graecor. quam Latinor. Dial. decem.* The acute comprehension of the individuality in every province of the *viri illustres* among the Italians arises from the adaptability of their temperament. Only amid a nation possessed of so many artistic characters could Vasari have formed the idea of his biographies of artists at so surprisingly early a date.

[2] Valerianus, a native of Belluno, came to Rome under Julius II., became a favourite of Medici, and then, when Medici was elected pope, was made the tutor of Ippolito and Alessandro. He was Protonotary of Clement VII., went to Piacenza in 1527, and died in Padua in 1558. His work *De Literator. infel.*, published in Venice in 1620, is to be found in vol. iii. of the *Giornals de' Letterati*, Venice, 1710, with similar writings, such as that of the Venetian Alcyonius (who died in Rome in 1528): *Medices Legatus, sive de Exilio Dialogus*, and that of Cornelius Tollius: *De infel. Literator., Appendix*; also in the *Analecta de calamitate litterator.*, ed. Menken, Leipzig, 1707.



recognition. Goritz was at length obliged to close the chapel against the flow of their verses. They also brought their gifts to his garden beside the Forum of Trajan, and there affixed them to the trees, fountains and antiquities. Their Corycius Senex collected these gifts in an elegant volume, which he placed in his cabinet, but Blosius purloined the MS., and it thus found its way into print.[1] Among the poets of the Coryciana were the most celebrated literati of Italy, Bembo, Castiglione, Vida, Gyraldi, Jovius, Flaminius. Even Hutten appears as a guest, while another German, Silvanus, also sang in lively strains the festival of S. Anna.[2] Several German Humanists were members of the Roman Academy; many were solemnly awarded Roman citizenship. Goritz was their Maecenas; Hieronymus Aleander was also a patron until the Reformation made him the hated enemy of Germany.[3]

[1] See his amiable letter introductory to the *Coryciana*, *Impr. Romae ap. Lud. Vicentium et Lautitium Perusinum, M. Julio*, 1524.

[2] The unfortunate Hutten still sought healing from the saints:

Orbe pererrato terra omnia passus, et undis
Nunc etiam raptum peste agitante pedem
Corycii pietate novam devolvar ad aram,
Hac avia, hac mater, hac tibi nate prece
Da morbum cessare pedis, da robur ademptum,
Sic nunquam his desint caeraque tusque focis.

[3] German poets in the Coryciana were: *Suchthenius*, *Petrus Aperbachius*, *Cajus Silvanus*, *Janus Hadelius Saxo*. Michael Humelberg, who was in Rome in 1515 and 1516, wrote to Ernst Hesz on March 4, 1519: *vellem scripsisses ad me de Sodalitate nra. literaria quae Romae est, et cum primis de Remo, Groningo, Rosino, Gereandro, Apocello, Hieronymo* (probably Aleander, who was considered a German) *et ceteris nris. quibuscum familiariter degimus.* Munich Library Cod. lat. 4007 (for the knowledge of which I am indebted to

Beside this collection we may also place the pasquinades. The same singers, who offered their poetic tributes to the statue of S. Anna, affixed their satires to the torso of Pasquino on the festival of S. Marco. Under Julius II., in the happy age of the entire freedom of the press, appeared in Rome the first collection of this kind, the satiric almanac of the time; an instructive contribution to the history of its public opinion, as of its undisciplined frivolity.[1] Pasquinades.

One of the most gifted poets was Evangelista Fausto Maddaleni, of the family of the Capi di Ferro, Sadoleto's most intimate friend and a classically-educated Latinist. Leo gave him a professor's chair on the Capitol, where he was expected to deliver lectures on Roman history.[2] Gyraldi considered him more poetically gifted than his compatriot Camillo Porcari, who was also a favourite of Leo and a professor of eloquence. The Porcari continued to serve the Muses. When Bembo came to Rome he prided himself on the friendship of the three highly cultured brothers of the house, Camillo, Evangelista Maddaleni and Camillo Porcari.

Prof. Friedrich). Nevertheless we must not imagine that a German literary coterie existed in Rome.

[1] *Carmina quae ad pasquillum fuerunt posita in A. MCCCCCIX.* —*Carmina ad Pasquillum Herculem A.* 1510.—The well-known collection *Pasquillorum Tomi Eleutheropoli* of 1544 is the storehouse of the witticisms of both Latins and Germans on the Papacy and priesthood during the age of the Renascence and Reformation. Hutten therein bears off the palm. The immense number of such productions, especially in Germany, is astounding. See "*Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*," edited by Oscar Schade, Hanover, 1856, 3 vols.

[2] Renazzi, ii. 14.

Valerio and Antonio.[1] Arsilli calls Camillo the happiest imitator of Tibullus; Gyraldi, on the other hand, considered his prose better than his verse. He died in 1517 as bishop-elect of Teramo.[2]

The Mellini were also distinguished for their culture. In Giambattista their family had produced a celebrated cardinal under Sixtus IV. They dwelt in their palace on the Navona, and after the middle of the fifteenth century owned the beautiful villa on Monte Mario, where about 1470 Pietro Mellini built the chapel of S. Croce. Pietro was brother of the cardinal and son of Sabba Mellini, a learned man, Lateran Count Palatine and chancellor of the city of Rome. His sons Mario, Girolamo and Celso were no less renowned for culture.[3]

Celso Mellini and Longolius.

Celso acquired celebrity owing to a trial in 1519. At this time the young scholar Christopher Longueil of Mechlin dwelt in Rome, where he studied in the libraries and where his learning commanded great respect. His friends procured him the rights of Roman citizenship in reward for several panegyrics

[1] *Camillo e Valerio ed Antonio Porcari fratelli gentili uomini Romani e dotti e virtuosi e cortesi: Lettere*, Opp. iii. 97, Rome, April 18, 1510. Camillo was the friend of Inghirami; beside whom Sadoleto calls him *alterum lumen urbanae facundiae: De laudib. phil.*, lib. i. 32. Antonio and Valerio were twins *si consimili che ognhora da tutta Roma é preso l'un per l'altro*, says Bibiena in the argument to his Calandra (Venice edition of 1534).

[2] Renazzi, ii. 68. Gyraldi, Op. ii. 395.

[3] Alveri, *Roma in ogni stato*, ii. 48. Mario married Ginepra, daughter of Domenico Cybò. The tower still remains of the family palace, which Innocent X. had demolished in order to build S. Agnese, and in which the Spanish ambassadors used to make their abode.

on Italy and Rome. His enemies, however, quoted earlier panegyrics on France, in which he had depreciated Rome. The self-conceit of the Romans had reached such a pitch that Celso Mellini formally accused the foreign Humanist of high treason.[1] This was not mere vanity, but also patriotic passion; for the ancient virtue of patriotism, which had been weakened by the cosmopolitan theories of Christianity, re-awoke in the Renascence. Never did a living people feel themselves so much at one with their ancestors as the cultured Italians of this age. Men transplanted themselves in imagination back to the times of Cicero, and eagerly seized the opportunity of emulating the ancient orators. A scene was enacted with pompous seriousness on the Capitol. Before Pope Leo, the cardinals and all the important Quirites of Rome, the citizen Mellini delivered a thundering philippic against poor Longueil.[2] Longueil had shortly before quitted the city, but had left with his friends two speeches in his own defence, which are valuable contributions to the history of the period.[3] Therein he entirely adopts the attitude of a person accused by both senate and people, shows that he had not offended

Trial of Longolius.

[1] *Infremuit Pop. ea contumelia perturbatus*: Jovius in the *Eloq. Longolii.*; Gyraldi, *De Poetis nostror. temp.*, p. 396, and Sadoleto's Letter to Longol., Ep., vol. i. 41. *Vita Christophori Longolii*, by Giov. della Casa, in *Vitae Selector. aliquot viror*, London, 1681. Longolius composed 5 *orationes de laudibus urbis Romae.*

[2] It has not been preserved.

[3] *Christophori Longolii Orationes duae pro defensione sua in crimen laesae majestatis*, Florence, Junta, 1524. The second speech is the best, masterly and characteristic.

against any Roman law, and proves that the root of the whole matter was the envy cherished by Rome of the scientific culture of foreigners. His enemies seriously asserted that the Northern nations had conspired to deprive the Romans and Italians of the foremost place in learning, and that Longueil had been secretly sent to Rome by Erasmus and Budaeus in order to extract the treasures of learning from the libraries and to bring them across the Alps.[1] The whole of the learned world was involved in the trial. Bembo and Sadoleto took the part of the accused, and Leo X. made him a brilliant reparation; he confirmed him in his citizenship and appointed him Lateran Count Palatine and apostolic secretary. But Longueil never returned to Rome. He went to Padua, formed a close friendship with Bembo, and associated with the young Reginald Pole, who was studying there at the time. There he also entered the lists against Luther, and died only thirty-three years old in 1522, bewailed by Erasmus and all the scholars of the age. His adversary Celso was drowned in a river and his death deplored by the whole of Rome.[2]

[1] *Conspirasse transalpinas gentes, ut non Romanos modo, sed caeteros etiam Italos de literarum principatu disturbarent, quo me quoque nomine, huc esse missum ab Erasmo Rhoterdamo et Gulielmo Budaeo asseverarent, quos hujus conjurationis authores ducesque videri vellent, nimirum ut excussis bibliothecis vestris omnib. quicquid hic literarum esset reliquum, id ego omne mecum trans alpes auferrem. Oratio II.*, p. 33.

[2] Valerianus, *De Liter. Inf.*, p. 60. One of the speakers in this dialogue is Pietro Mellini. *Lacrime in Celsi Mellini funere*, a long poem written *con amore* by the same Valerianus; *Hexametri*, etc.,

Among the poets honoured by the city there were several other Romans, who, however, remain to us merely names.[1] The Sabine Blosio Palladio, who received Roman citizenship in 1516, enjoyed great renown, became apostolic secretary under Clement VII., was then made Bishop of Foligno, and died in 1550. He was a man of classical culture, and for a time head of the Academy. His friend Marcantonio Casanova from Como (who was however born in Rome) shone as an imitator of Martial. He was the confidant of the Colonna, a family which was also decorated with the laurel. For the great soldier Marcantonius wrote verses; Pompeo composed a panegyric on women and dedicated it to the celebrated Vittoria Colonna.[2] The Muses had now disarmed Rome. Instead of filling their palaces with projectiles, the Roman families collected therein antiquities and inscriptions; instead of planning Catilinarian conspiracies, Roman youths sang Catullan verses, and the imitators of Cassius and Brutus were transformed into innocent emulators of Martial and Horace. The title of poet was not as yet coupled with the disrespect later attached to it by the ineptitude of the Academic rhymes,

Blosio Palladio Casanova.

Ferrara, 1550, p. 29; and a long elegy on him by Guido Posthumus, *Elegiar. libri duo*, Bologna, 1524, p. 39.

[1] Egidius Gallus, actor and poet; Battista Casali; Marcello Palonio, who sang of the Battle of Ravenna; Lorenzo Vallati; Scipio Lancelotti, physician; Antonio Lelli; Bernardino Capella; Lorenzo Grana, afterwards Bishop of Segni, who died 1539; Giambattista Sanga, afterwards secretary to Giberti and Clement VII.

[2] Pompeo's work *De laudibus mulierum priscae virtutis* still remains unprinted.

as is shown by the derision which Leo X. permitted to be directed against the wretched poets, such as the drunkard Querno, the buffoon Gazzoldo, and Baraballo. Learning and poetry were still united.

From out the swarm of poets of the time some towered so prominently as to remain still visible, while others owed their posthumous fame solely to their position. Only on the latter account have the verses of Bembo, Sadoleto, and Castiglione outlived those of Maddaleni and Porzio; those also of Adrian of Corneto would scarcely have been remembered had not the author been a celebrated cardinal.[1] It was only by accident that the greatest poets of the time, such as Marcantonius Flaminius, Sannazaro and Vida were brought into touch with Rome. Flaminius, born at Serravalle in 1498, son of the Latinist Gianantonio, who was long professor at Imola, came as a youth to Rome, bringing verses which recommended him to the favour of Leo. The Pope invited him to remain, and the young poet enjoyed the instruction of the celebrated rhetorician Raffaello Brandolini. He acquired renown by his culture and talent, and dwelt in the house of Alessandro Farnese, but afterwards wandered through Italy, and made friends of Castiglione, Bembo, Giberti, Fracastoro, and Navagero. Never was there a more modest man. He later made acquaintance with the reformer Valdes, and accom-

Marcantonius Flaminius.

[1] Gyraldi (p. 536) extols the poem of this Cardinal *De venatione ad Ascanium Sforzam* and his *Iter Julii II., cum Bononiam contendit.* This, however, is only versified prose. These trifles are to be found in *Richard. Ketelii De Elegantiori Latinitate Comparanda Scriptores Selecti*, Amsterdam, 1713.

panied Reginald Pole to Trent. The reforming tendencies found an echo in his philosophically trained intellect. He died in Rome in 1550. His poetic works are distinguished by grace and form, nobility of sentiment, and moral purity. At Pole's wish he made the first attempt to translate the Psalms into Latin verse.[1]

In Rome Flaminius encountered a poet who had already become famous under the Borgia, Guido Posthumus Silvester of Pesaro. The restless life of this man is a mirror of the time. Born about 1479, he dwelt as a youth at the court of Giovanni Sforza, husband of Lucrezia Borgia, and here attacked Caesar in satires. He fled to the Rangoni at Modena; taught medicine at Ferrara; served weapon in hand for the Bentivogli against Julius II., and was twice imprisoned, but found rest at length in the capacity of court poet under Leo. X., to whom he dedicated his talents.[2] He described a hunting expedition of the Pope in elegiac verses. To his former friends, the Bentivogli, he always remained faithful. He died in 1521 at Capranica, where his pupil Ercole Rangone owned a villa. His poems, printed at Bologna in 1524, show a

Guido Posthumus Silvester.

[1] Schellhorn, *Amoenit. Hist. Eccl. et Litter.* (Frankfort, 1788), ii. 38, *de religione M. Ant. Flaminii*, says that Paul IV. condemned the *Psalmorum Davidis Explanatio* to the flames. The edition *M. Antonii Flaminii Carminum libri VIII.* (*Patavii*, 1727) also contains his life.

[2] He was already in Rome on July 28, 1513, and wrote thence to the Marchesa of Mantua, wishing that she would come *a veder roma in questo secolo doro. Ex urbe 28. julii* 1513. Original in the Gonzaga Archives. The seal, a gem with a seated figure.

mediocre talent, extensive classical reading, but clumsiness of style.[1]

Sannazaro. Sannazaro was also in correspondence with Leo X., and wished to dedicate to him his epic "*De partu virginis.*" But the Pope dying meanwhile, the work was dedicated instead to Clement VII. This once admired poem began the series of Christian epics, which ended with Klopstock's Messias. That in the decadence of the Christian religion, such material was handled by the most gifted poets, is scarcely to be explained among the Latins by a desire to return to the evangelical ideal.[2] Rather was it an artistic impulse that inspired them with the wish to represent the argument of Christianity in the correct and beautiful forms of paganism. As churches were now built in the proportions and style of the antique, according to the rules of Vitruvius, so it was desired to treat Christian doctrines and legends in the forms of classic art. Leo X. expressly required from Vida a Christian epic in true Maronian form; thus it was that he wished to enjoy Christianity.[3] Sannazaro treated his subject entirely from the standpoint of classic

[1] *Guidi Posthumi Silvestris Pisauriensis Elegiar. libri duo*, Bologna, 1524. Lib. i. is dedicated to Leo X. Concerning the fortunes of his life, see Dom. Bonamini in the *Nova Raccolta d'opuscoli Scient. XX.* 265 (A.D. 1770). Gyraldi (Op. ii. 391) says of him *secutus convivia et regum convictus, unde infirmam—valetudinem contraxit.*

[2] It would repay us to trace this tendency of Neo-Latin poetry back to the ideal figures of Christianity. Tiraboschi, vii., iv., lib. iii. n. 43 notes a poem "Mariados," by Cesare Delfino of Parma, printed in Venice in 1537, and others of the kind.

[3] See the note in the Life of Vida, which is appended to Vol. ii. of the Padua edition of his *Poemata omnia* (A.D. 1731).

art. The "Christiade" of Vida is merely a work of erudition, servilely modelled on Virgil; it avoids, however, all mingling of Christianity with the pagan mythology. Marcus Hieronymus Vida, born at Cremona about 1490, one of the most learned Latin scholars and the best Christian poet of his time, a serious-minded and noble man, spent many years of his youth in Rome under Julius and Leo. His first poems, *de arte poetica*, the Bombyx or Silk-worm, the Game of Chess, which Leo especially admired, show a didactic talent and a skilful imitation of the ancients. Leo gave him a priory at Frascati, where in the beautiful solitude of nature he was to write his great Christian epic. But the Christiade was not finished until the reign of Clement VII., and only appeared in print in 1535.[1] Vida.

The same age that received with rapture these poems concerning the Virgin and Christ, greeted Fracastoro's "Syphilis" with equal enthusiasm. This reception was made possible by the feeling for classical beauty of form. Nothing, moreover, was more opportune than the material of this poem. The terrible scourge of a race, corrupt to the backbone, was at that period regarded simply as a phenomenon of nature. It was common to all classes. Hutten had as companions in suffering Fracastoro.

[1] Clement VII. rewarded him with the Bishopric of Alva in Piedmont, where Vida died on September 27, 1566. His other poems, Hymns addressed to God, the Apostles and Saints, are remarkable on account of the classic method of treatment therein displayed. But a vast distance separates the muse of Prudentius and this Renascence poetry. Vida was on terms of friendship with Giberti, on whose death he wrote the warmest of his Odes (i. 385).

Pope Julius and King Francis: Fracastoro made the disease the subject of a poem of extreme elegance, which enjoyed a European fame. The loathsome — and from what subject should the chaste Muses invoked by the poet shrink in greater horror—is here made the motive for describing the malevolent and beneficent forces of nature, and the ancient mythology of gods and nymphs is more fittingly employed than in any other neo-Latin poem. Fracastoro dedicated his production to Bembo. As a work of art it also excited the greatest sensation, although its artistic merit is not indeed of high order. Sannazaro admitted that his own Christian epic, the work of twenty long years, was conquered by the Shepherd Syphilus. In the exaggerated opinion of contemporaries, this poem seemed to be the Renascence of Virgil; the acute critic Julius Caesar Scaliger even calls it a "divine poem."[1] Fracastoro, celebrated as astronomer, physician, philosopher, and poet, is the glory of Verona, where he was born about 1483. He joined the literary circle of General Alviano in Pordenone, then dwelt again either in Verona or on his estate of Incassi, and died in 1553. Verona erected a statue in his honour.[2]

A friend of his was the Venetian Andrea Navagero, one of the greatest scholars of the circle of

[1] *Divinum igitur poema cum sit ejus Syphilis: Poetices*, vi. 754.

[2] *Hieron. Fracastorii Veron. Op. omnia*, Venet., Junta, 1555. His poem is included in the collection *De morbo Gallico omnia quae extant apud omnes medicos cujuscunque nationis*, Venet., 1566, fol.

Aldus. He died in 1529 at Blois, aged forty-six, as envoy of Venice, and burning the greater part of his writings and poems, left but few behind.[1] Neither Fracastoro nor Navagero belonged to the literary circles of Rome, with whose leaders, Bembo, Sadoleto, and Flaminius, they, however, stood in active correspondence.[2]

4. ITALIAN POETRY—BEMBO'S SERVICES TO THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE — MOLZA — TEBALDEO — BERNARDO ACCOLTI — BEAZZANO — VITTORIA COLONNA — VERONICA GAMBARA — BERNI AND BURLESQUE POETRY — PIETRO ARETONIO — ALEMANNI — RUCCELLAI — ARIOSTO — TRISSINO — THE DRAMA — COMEDY—THE CALANDRA OF BIBIENA—ATTEMPTS AT TRAGEDY.

Classicism, art without nature, beautiful sensuous forms devoid of soul are the characteristics of Renascence poetry among the Italians; characteristics which marked even their poetic effusions in the popular tongue. The enthusiasm for Latin had

Italian poetry.

[1] *Andreae Naugerii Patricii Veneti Oratoris et Poetae Opera omnia*, Padua, 1718. He wrote poems in both languages.

[2] Of the Roman school I may further mention Fabius Vigil of Spoleto; Janus Vitalis of Palermo; Johannes Aurelius Augurelli, author of the *Chrysopœia*, the art of manufacturing gold; Augustino Beazzano of Treviso; Beroaldo the younger; Basilius Zanchi; Colocci; Giovanni Antonio Marostica; Janus Parhasius; Andreas Fulvius; Giovanni Mozzarelli or Mutius Aurelius; Faustus Sabaeus.—Their verses for the most part are to be found in the *Deliciae CC. Poetar. Italor.* (A.D. 1608), edited by Janus Gruter. Many libraries contain collections of Renascence poetry in manuscript. A collection from the Fugger library deserving of note is Cod. lat. 485 at Munich.

threatened the life of the Italian language in the fifteenth century; the danger, however, was averted by Lorenzo Medici, Poliziano and Pulci. The "lingua volgare" had acquired a sweetness and harmony like the tones of a lute, the melodious charm of which was governed by rules of recognised art. Ciceronians themselves no longer disdained to write poetry in Italian. Even their leader Bembo acquired no small renown by his studies in the grammar of the vulgar tongue.[1] He also supervised the text of the Aldine edition of Dante which appeared in 1502, and pride in this hero of poetry was reawakened to such a degree, that in the time of Leo, Florence requested from Ravenna the gift of Dante's ashes, which she wished to honour with a sepulchral monument. If, in a speech delivered before Charles V. at Bologna in 1530, Romolo Amaseo still spoke of Italian as a plebeian tongue, this opinion was nothing but pedantic folly. The fact that the Italians were creative in two languages, each of which was esteemed national, made them rich indeed. One was the great universal language of the Church, of politics, law and learning, and at the same time the language of dignified and artistic style, the language by whose means the intellectual life of antiquity had been marvellously reanimated; the other throbbed with the pulsations

[1] *Prose di Mons. Bembo*, dedicated to Cardinal Giulio Medici (Clement VII.), 2 ed., Ven. 1538. A still readable work, which deals with the rise of the Italian language, and teaches the art of writing good Tuscan. *Fu egli il primo che s'avvisasse—a regole ed a precetti grammaticali la volgar nostra favella, irregolare insino allora e licenziosa*: Corniani, *Secoli della letter. ital.*, ii. 259.

of the present, and was the possession of the fatherland. Neither the best poets of Italy nor the best historians are found among the Latinists, and in spite of Plautus and Terence, the new theatre finally pronounced the tongue of the people to be the natural language of the drama.

There was scarcely a cultured Italian who had not written sonnets, madrigals and other verses.[1] The literature of the sixteenth century is filled to overflowing with an innumerable crowd of rhymers; no longer poets of the Renascence, but of the decadence which followed on Dante and Petrarch. We may moreover observe that at the very time that the art of the Italians reached its zenith, its beautiful literature fell to decay. And if for a time it ruled the literary taste of Europe, its influence disappeared as soon as that taste acquired national independence. Italian lyric poetry in the sixteenth century is devoid both of ideas and thought. It shows neither passion of feeling, nor yet the depth of intellect which investigates the problems of life. Lyric poets.

The overpowering demand for style produced that form of the sonnet in which feeling becomes the slave of a model. Such a national and invariably ready form of expression possesses, as has been rightly observed, its advantages, but it has also the disadvantages of mannerism. The lyrists of the sixteenth century were merely imitators. Petrarch was their idol; and while Dante, too

[1] Even of Julius II. a sonnet exists, dedicated, as it would appear, to his daughter Felice: see Trucchi, *Poesie ital. inedite*, iii. 113.

great and profound for the frivolous generation, remained in the background,[1] Petrarch was explained in innumerable treatises and his Platonism imitated. Bembo is regarded as the restorer of the Italian lyric, but in his poems he was nothing more than the leader of a band of insipid sonneteers. In this age of a voluptuous prelacy, we encounter for the most part indecent, satyr-like and trivial rhymes by monsignori or lyrics by men in whom the priest was forgotten in the courtier. If the lyric is above all a mirror of the times, then must we acknowledge that the period of Leo X. reveals an interminable dead level of feeling and thought. Nowhere does a great poetic soul rise in pain to bewail the decadence of the nation. No Savonarola appeared among the poets of Italy. They sang the praises of their Maecenates and their Phrynes, and wrote pastoral plays and adventures of chivalry, while the liberty of Italy died. And yet Dante had lived before them, and even Petrarch had raised a loud lament over the sufferings of his country. It is hard to discover a single patriotic verse among the many poems of the time. Several had been produced during the reign of the energetic Julius, but under Leo the Muse too became effeminate.[2]

[1] Some scholars, however, were engaged in the study of Dante; such were Cristoforo Landino, who compiled a commentary which has frequently been republished, and Bembo.

[2] Flaminius' father wrote a patriotic poem, in which he appeals to Julius II.:

Serviet ergo, quibus dominata est Romula tellus?
Itala tam turpi terra premere jugo?

Deliciae CC. Poetar., i. 972. See also (in Roscoe, i. n. 28) the sonnet

Rome could bring to life scholars and artists, but only impose the fetters of slavery on the poetic spirit. We are forced to regret those talented men who allowed themselves to be ensnared by the perfumed cynicism of Rome, and who sank into parasites and drawing-room poets in the courts of cardinals. Several of them might in other circumstances have achieved greater things; Francesco Maria Molza, for instance, a noble Modenese, perhaps the most gifted poet of the time. He long dwelt in Rome under Julius, then at the court of Leo, afterwards with Cardinal Ippolito Medici, and later with Alessandro Farnese. After a dissolute life he died of the French disease in 1548. A man of great learning, a poet in two languages, his Nymph of the Tiber, the pastoral in which he celebrated his Roman mistress, Faustina Mancini, was his most admired work.[1] Molza.

The Ferrarese Antonio Tebaldeo was renowned as an improvisatore. Originally a physician, he succeeded Serafino and became the Orpheus of Leo X.'s court. Raffaelle placed him among the poets of his Parnassus, in which the artist depicted Apollo with the features of another celebrated improvisatore, Tebaldeo.

of Tebaldeo, "*Nei tuoi campi.*" On the other hand Ariosto asserts that the loss of the poet Marullo would be a greater trial to him than the ruin of Italy: *Ad Hercul. Strozzam, Carm. illustr. Poetar. Ital.*, i. 38. The poetry of Valerianus contains some echoes of patriotic feeling, and Fracastoro's "Syphilis" some verses addressed to unfortunate Italy.

[1] See the Introduction to the *Poesie volgari e latine* of Molza by Pierantonio Serassi, Bergamo, 1747. Molza, born in 1489, first came to Rome in 1505.

Giacomo Sansecondo.[1] No other people have shown themselves so endowed as the Italians with that lightning-like presence of mind necessary to the art of the improvisatore. The enthusiasm which Bernardo Accolti excited shows how educated was their taste for extempore production in artistic forms of speech. This gifted native of Arezzo roused the court of Urbino to enthusiasm by his improvisations on the lute, and awoke equal raptures in Leo X. and the whole of Rome. Crowds flocked to hear him at the Vatican, the doors of which were left open by the Pope's orders. With Olympian self-consciousness Accolti called himself Unico Aretino, but the name is also bestowed upon him by the admiring Ariosto. Leo X. rewarded him so lavishly, that he bought the title of Duke of Nepi, which a prince of poets now better adorned than the two years' old bastard of the Borgia who had borne it in the time of Alexander VI. Accolti died in 1534.[2] His erotic poetry and epigrammatic popular songs (Strambotti), especially when united to the charm of music and the inspiration of the passing moment, rivalled those of Serafino and Tebaldeo. Accolti now lives solely in the history of literature. He also wrote in octaves the romantic

Bernardo Accolti.

[1] Tebaldeo died in poverty in Rome in 1537. His tomb may be seen in S. Maria in Via Lata.

[2] His father was Benedetto Accolti, whose work *De bello a Christianis contra Barbaros gesto Pro Christi sepulchro* was printed in Venice in 1532. His brother Pietro, Professor of law at Pisa and Cardinal of S. Eusebio, died in 1532. His nephew was the Latinist Benedetto Accolti, celebrated as Cardinal (created on May 3, 1527), the friend of Pico and Aldus. He died in 1549.

comedy of Virginia. It was based on a novella of Boccaccio, from which Shakespeare derived his plot of "All's well that ends well."[1] Accolti's Virginia bears the same relation to Shakespeare's play as the shoot to the perfect flower; nevertheless it surprises us by its strength of poetic energy and by the delightful feeling it frequently displays. In its happy plot it is a veritable jewel among the comedies of the Renascence.[2]

Tebaldeo, Molza, Bembo, Accolti and the sonneteer Agostino Beazzano, the friend of Bembo, are the most renowned Italian poets of the period belonging to the Roman school, which was afterwards joined by Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Fabrizio. The wife of Pescara and friend of Michael Angelo outshone most of her contemporaries less perhaps by actual ability than by the renown of her house and her husband's fame, thanks to which circumstances her poems are still read. They are dedicated to religion, love, fidelity and friendship, and, in spite of their imitation of Petrarch, bear the stamp of an independent, pure and noble character.[3] Beside Vittoria shone also Veronica Gambara, daughter of Count Gianfrancesco Gambara of

Vittoria Colonna.

Veronica Gambara.

[1] According to J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, iv. 546, Shakespeare also made use of Accolti's Virginia.

[2] I am acquainted with the rare Florentine edition of 1518 (Munich Library): *Comedia del preclarissimo Messer Bernardo Accolti Aretino: scriptore Apostolico: et Abbreviatore: recitata nelle nozze del Magnifico Antonio Spannocchi: nella inclyta cipta di Siena.* A selection of sonnets, capitoli and strambotti by the same author are printed as an appendix.

[3] Vittoria, born at Marino in 1490, died at Rome in February 1547.

Brescia and wife of Giberto, lord of Correggio, whom she early lost. But as Veronica spent her life partly in Bologna, partly in Correggio, where she died in 1550, she cannot be regarded as belonging to the literary circle of Rome.[1]

Every antique form of poetry was cultivated by the Italians; satires, didactic poems, the epic and the drama. Their acute intellect eminently qualified the people for the development of satire, but the inclination to farce and indecency prevailed, and even the satires of Ariosto are only mediocre productions without any plastic drawing of character or genuine artistic style. Francesco Berni of Tuscany, who long lived in the service of Bibiena in Rome, and became the favourite of Giberti, was the founder of burlesque poetry. And with him also rose to fame the undisciplined Giovanni Mauro of Friuli, who likewise lived in Rome as a courtier of prelates.[2] If we read these "facetious" poems we are either forced to smile at the triviality of the subjects, or are appalled by the depth of immorality which they boldly reveal.[3] A great part of Italian literature at this time is characterised by shameless indecency. It is the literature of hetaerae; a moral syphilis infecting the intellectual organism of the nation. These debauchees in unchastity

Berni.

Literature of Hetaerae.

[1] She was born in 1485, and her mother was Alda Pia of Carpi.

[2] Berni died a Canon in Florence in 1536.

[3] *Opere burlesche*, Utrecht, 1726, in 3 vols., a not very enviable monument of Italian literature. *La Piva* of Berni, *Il Forno* of Giov. della Casa, similar works of Molza are measures of the shamelessness of the period. Even Bembo once celebrated in Latin verses the Roman Priapus.

were frequently priests and read mass at the altar. Giovanni della Casa, the author of the filthy Capitolo del Forno, died as Archbishop of Benevento and was Inquisitor in Venice. Teofilo Folengo, the founder of Maccaronic poetry, was a Benedictine. The uncouth Bandello, whose novelle are able still to captivate every member of the demi-monde, was a Dominican monk, and died Bishop of Agen.

Pietro Aretino frequently appeared in Rome as a literary adventurer under Julius, Leo and Clement VII., without however establishing any permanent foothold. The quagmire of Italian depravity, illuminated by the phosphorescence of wit, is represented by this man, the Caesar Borgia of sixteenth century literature. He is a phenomenon of immorality such as no other nation at any period produced. We scarcely know at which to be more surprised, the cynical effrontery or the power of this journalist, and the idolatry which he extorted from his century. A nation in which such an ignorant, unabashed and thoroughly venal mendicant could seat himself as tyrant on the throne of literature, an object of fear and reverence to all the great ones of the earth whom he despised and scourged, shows that every moral spring of its life was poisoned and that servitude was its inevitable fate. The author of the hideous "Raggionamente" wrote with the same pen the Life of the Virgin Mary and other works of a religious nature, and a pope (Julius III.) embraced and kissed him and made him a knight of S. Peter.[1]

Pietro Aretino.

[1] Aretino was a bastard born in Arezzo in 1492. He lived seven years in Rome, but was banished by Clement VII. in consequence of

Alemanni and Ruccellai.

Two Florentines rose to celebrity by their exemplary didactic poems, Ludovico Alemanni by his "Coltivazione," and the gifted Giovanni Ruccellai by his "Api." Only Ruccellai however belonged to the Roman school. He was a cousin of Leo X., and son of the learned Bernardo; he became a priest but not a cardinal, and was employed by Leo in diplomatic affairs. On the death of the Pope Ruccellai left Rome, but returned there under Clement VII., and died as Castellan of S. Angelo.

Romantic epic.

The Italians acquired their chief celebrity in the romantic epic. After Pulci and Boiardo this form of poetry reached its highest development in Ariosto, and ended in Tasso's poem, which is, as regards form, the most consummate masterpiece in the Italian language. Until Dante was recalled to life, admiration for Italian poetry was based on these two great epics. In Ariosto the creative spirit of Italian painting was transformed into poetry. His magic work Orlando, radiant with colour, but devoid of character and empty of thought, entirely corresponds to the time of Leo X. It is the mirror of Italy revelling in sensual and intellectual luxury, the ravishing, seductive, musical and picturesque

the *Sonnetti Lussuriosi*, which he had written on indecent drawings by Giulio Romano, drawings which Marcantonio engraved on copper. He was the confidential friend of Giovanni Medici, Captain of the Bande Nere. Then he dwelt in Venice, where he died in 1557. He was a friend of Titian, who frequently painted him; and was dreaded by Charles V. and Francis I., who made him presents. His letters are a valuable contribution to the history of the period. Massimo Fabi began a new edition of his works: *Opere di Pietro Aretino ordinate ed annotate*, Milan, 1863.

poetic work of the decadence, just as the poem of Dante had formerly been the mirror of the virile energy of the nation. Ariosto accompanied this Ariosto. Medicean Bacchanalia of culture with a poetic girandole; its overwhelming flood of fire and light is one of the most magnificent phenomena of the Italian intellect, in which are dissipated the realities of the nation's life. Dante's poem became an inexhaustible source of vitality to the intellect of the nation; — its poetic gospel. The poems of Ariosto and Tasso have not produced any such permanent effect; they are merely the finest ornaments of Italian literature. In the time of Julius II. we saw Ariosto in Rome on a dangerous mission; he afterwards came to congratulate Leo X., but gained nothing more from his friend Medici than a privilege for printing. After a few days he left Rome, never to return.[1] In some satires he explained that liberty with moderate means was more to be desired than golden servitude at the Roman Court, but it is possible that he might have changed his views had the Pope offered him an appointment.[2] The Orlando appeared in forty cantos at Ferrara in 1516; then in complete form in the same city in 1532, a year before the death of the poet.

While Leo X. did not attempt to detain this brilliant poet, Trissino dwelt highly respected at Trissino. his court. This many-sided scholar of Vicenza

[1] He wrote to Fantini, Rome, April 7, 1513: *ho baciato il piè al Papa, e m'ha mostrato di odir volentera: veduto non credo che m'abbia, che dopo che è papa non porta più l'ochiale.*

[2] *Satira* 3, and especially 7.

was a rich and independent man, who as diplomat had rendered the Pope many services. He determined to outrival Ariosto by a national epic, after the model of Homer, based on firm historic soil, and devoted twenty years of classic study to "Italy delivered from the Goths." This achievement of prosaic learning and servile imitation has merely acquired a paper immortality. But the noble Trissino was able to console himself with the easily acquired and well deserved fame of a dramatist.[1]

The Drama.

The development of the drama in Italy was favoured by several circumstances; passion for scenic representation, the sumptuous gaiety of life, the combined influence of all the arts, culture and taste, the diversity of characters in different classes and personalities, the publicity and mobility of moral conditions, the gifts of mimicry and elocution, and the entire freedom from censorship which, in the midst of utter immorality, the writers of comedy enjoyed. And in truth the Renascence of the theatre is the great work of the Italians in the history of culture. They created theatrical art and the forms of the drama, and became the tutors of the European stage. Mysteries, pastoral comedies, dramas of intrigue, romantic tragi-comedies, serious drama and tragedy, masques, dramatic improvisations and opera, all were at-

[1] Giov. Giorgio Trissino was born of noble family on July 8, 1478, and studied in Milan under Demetrias Chalkondyles, to whom (when that scholar died in 1511) he erected a monument. Trissino died—strange to say—a layman, in Rome in 1550. His *Italia liberata* appeared in print in 1547.

tempted by the Italians with a wealth of talent, which, no less than the sparkling intellect shown in this Renascence theatre, is truly wonderful. Their productions, more especially in comedy in the sixteenth century, are numbered by the thousand; nevertheless the Italian stage produced no Shakespeare. The great Englishman, however, utilised the wealth of novelle, as also the Italian drama, after the fashion of a miner, who is able to extract gold from dross. To the poetic nature of the Italians one factor seemed lacking, without which dramatic enthusiasm can attain no moral depth. This gift is the philosophy of the poet. Independence is invariably absent. The traditions of antiquity, Latin scholarship, and formal art remained the enemies of the popular development of the Italian drama.

Seneca, and still more Plautus and Terence, for whom Pomponius Laetus had so zealously striven, acquired an influence over a later age, greater, perhaps, than they had exercised in their own. They were circulated in innumerable translations and imitations, and became the tutelary deities of a hundred academies. Their comedies were everywhere introduced. Now it was a Pope who gave the tone to the movement and who inaugurated an epoch for the theatre. Leo X. wished old and new pieces to be represented. In his time the Vatican was the most magnificent theatre in Europe. Plays were also given in other palaces, and scarcely a festival of any kind was celebrated of which plays did not form a part. The theatre

Performances in the Vatican.

on the Capitol was furnished at incredible expense in 1513, where, in honour of Giuliano Medici, who had been created Patricius of Rome, mythological scenes and the Poenulus of Plautus were given.[1] Leo ordered the Suppositi of Ariosto to be performed in presence of 2000 spectators in March 1519, a performance for which Raffaelle painted the scenery. Music filled the intervals between the acts, and the Moresca, a ballet, was also given.[2]

The actors were mostly Academicians, educated in the school of Pomponius. Some, such as Inghirami and the poet Gallus, obtained celebrity.[3] Francesco Cherea, the imitator of Terence, shone at Leo's court by his talents as a comedian. In the academies of other cities also the theatrical art had developed to such a degree that the actors gave dramatic entertainments. Leo brought the comedians belonging to the Rozzi Academy in Siena annually to Rome. The indecency of their performances was unbounded. Had we no other

[1] A poet celebrated the festival: *Theatrum Capitolinum magnifico Juliano institutum per Aurelium Serenum Monopolitanum. Romae in aedib. Mazochianis* 1514. Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 77, says of the same theatre: *adeo exquisito atque opulento rer. omnium apparatu, ut antiqua aurei saeculi foelicitas—revocata videretur.* The same festival is minutely described by Marcantonio Altieri in a letter to Renzo da Cere, MS. Barberini, LIV. 75.

[2] Paoluzzo to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, May 8, 1519, in *Lettere di L. Ariosto*, Bologna, 1866, Doc. xvi.

[3] *Galle tuae passim resonant per compita laudes,*
Scena graves numeros te recitante probat.
Thus wrote Arsilli, *De poetis urbanis.* Bembo held him in high esteem, and composed his epitaph (*Deliciae CC. Poetar. Italorum*, i. 375).

witness to the intellectual life of the Italians in the sixteenth century than these comedies, we should be forced to acknowledge that the moral depravity of the nation was equal to that of the times of the ancient Roman and Byzantine theatres.[1] These comedies mainly centre in seduction, adultery, and the lowest forms of sensual pleasure, but they formed notwithstanding the chosen delights of the upper classes. Popes, princes, clergy and nobles eagerly put them on the stage. Leo revelled in them without any feeling of shame or satiety. Remembering that he took pleasure in the vulgar jests of the court fools, and caused a monk to be tossed in a blanket on the stage for having written a bad comedy, we are able to understand his delight, and with Jovius (but without Jovius' malicious *arrière pensée*) may find excuse for such foolish whims in the spirit of the age.[2] We shall have difficulty, however, in explaining the entirely uncritical attitude of the head of the Church to the theatre of his times. His own contemporaries, even

Indecency of Comedy.

[1] E. Ruth, *Gesch. der ital. Poesie*, Leipzig, 1847, 2nd part. An analogy is offered by the indecent English Comedy of the Restoration period,—the plays of Dryden, Wycherley and Congreve—and in our own days by the demi-monde literature of France; in the latter, however, everything is psychologically refined. Coarse and disgusting though its subject is, the Mandragola of Machiavelli is considered the best comedy of its age. Klein places it as a *pendant* to the "Principe," and reads into it a reforming tendency. Machiavelli, however, loved licentiousness, he himself being no stranger to the lusts of the time. Corniani calls him *spirito lascivo*. The reader will find much valuable information concerning the Italian theatre in Villari's *Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, iii. cap. x.

[2] Letter of Paoluzzo. Jovius palliates the Pope's immorality by the example of Trajan; paganism is invoked to shield the Papacy.

enthusiasts for antiquity, occasionally shrank from it in horror. Not to mention Erasmus, Gyraldi exclaimed, "O tempora! O Mores! the entire filth of the ancient stage has returned; everywhere ancient plays are performed; that which on account of its immorality was formerly condemned and destroyed by the feeling of all Christians is now revived publicly on the stage by priests, even by our own popes, not to speak of princes. Yea, the clergy themselves ambitiously aspire to the fame of the actor."[1] The author of one of the most indecent comedies wore the cardinal's purple with all the greater honour because he was its author.[2]

Bernardo Dovizio.

Bernardo Dovizio of Bibiena in Tuscany was the friend of Leo and Raffaelle. Born in 1470, and introduced by his brother Piero to Lorenzo Medici, he became the most zealous servant of the Medici house. He accompanied Cardinal Giovanni into exile, exerted himself to procure his election, received the purple, suddenly rose to wealth and became one of the most respected statesmen in Rome. His brilliant and lively character and his joviality rendered him highly popular. At Leo's court he was the superintendent and director of all festivities, and especially of the Carnival and theatre. After a life spent in pleasure he died on

[1] *De poetar. Histor. Dialog.*, vii. Opp., vol. ii. 438.

[2] Concerning the representation of Calandra, Jovius (in the *Elogium* of Bibiena) says: *ut nihil—magnificentius in scena editum confiteri liceat; nisi tum caeteris patribus sacra purpura pudorem expressisset; quum tamen a minus severis dignitatem attulisse putaretur.*

November 9, 1520.[1] Already in the time of Julius II. Dovizi, a very mediocre poet, had written his Calandra in prose, an imitation of the Menaechmi of Plautus. As the earliest pioneer of the Italian comedy the piece made a great sensation, and was soon played at every court. Leo showed the now almost incredible naïveté of having this frivolous piece performed in the Vatican in honour of the Marchesa Isabella of Mantua, when Baldassare Peruzzi painted the scenery.[2] Music was played during the intervals.[3] His Calandra.

The Calandra inaugurated the series of the equally obscene comedies of Machiavelli, Ariosto, Aretino and other poets, who threw themselves with enthusiasm into this kind of dramatic work. Here was their opportunity to come forward as judges of the vices of their age, or painters of its manners,

[1] Angelo Maria Bandini, *Il Bibiena osia il ministro di stato delineato nella vita del Card. Bernardo Dovizi da Bibiena*, Leghorn, 1758. In 1518 he was appointed to the Legation in France, whence he returned, entirely Gallicized in his sympathies, in January 1520. The displeasure which the Pope showed towards him gave rise to the rumour that he caused the favourite to be poisoned. The *Vita Anon. Leonis X.* contains a good portrait of Dovizi. See also Jovius, *Elogia.*

[2] Vasari, viii. 227. According to Bandini the Calandra was first printed in Siena in 1521. Following Barotti, *Difesa degli scritt. Ferraresi*, Klein claims for Ariosto precedence of Dovizi, maintaining that the *Cassaria* and *Suppositi* were written in 1498. Gyraldi's opinion of the Calandra is: *etsi jocis et facetiis scatet, ars deficit.* It is funny, but not a comedy; is indeed as foolish as it is tedious and disgusting.

[3] The opera, of which the Orfeo of Poliziano may be regarded as the first attempt, developed from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward. The first opera house in Rome was built in 167

and thus secure an undoubted influence. But in spite of the occasional brilliance and the novelle-like fascination of the subject matter and treatment of these comedies (in which lay their charm for Shakespeare), the psychology of passion is for the Italian Renascence theatre, as yet an almost unexplored territory. Even the most renowned comic poets still stood on the confines of social comedy. They only took up again the motives of the ancient Roman comedies, the characters of which for modern readers can only seem to have about them something Etruscan, something of the character of a masque.

Tragedy.

In tragedy the Italians applied themselves to the imitation of Seneca, and to the translation of Sophocles and Euripides. But the Greek genius did not harmonise with the Italian national intellect, which possessed neither the necessary sublimity, nor yet a language capable of expressing the wealth and fulness of the Hellenic character. The oldest of these tragedies is the Sofonisba of Trissino, a remarkable work, felicitous and original in its mastery of the material. In its treatment an imitation of Euripides, it appears like a noble tragic seed planted in Italian literature, but destined never to attain any further development. The Sofonisba is said to have been played at Vicenza in 1514, and was probably given in Rome under Leo X.[1] A little later Ruccellai's Rosmunda and his Orestes

[1] Klein, v. 276, calls Sofonisba the noblest heroine in the tragedy of the classic Romanesque theatre. Corniani, ii. 309, asserts that the piece was performed by order of Leo X.

were put on the stage; the former tragedy was acted before Leo X. during his sojourn in Florence in 1515. But the tragic Muse of Italy wearied soon after these first exertions. Authors, among them even Trissino, servilely imitated Euripides, and tragedies in the manner of Seneca with their Thyestean horrors crowded the stage to overflowing. The brutality of the plot filled the mind with dread; and in its representation of martyrdoms, Italian painting became no less barbarous than tragedy at the end of the sixteenth century.[1]

With regard to the theatre, it is worthy of remark that it severed itself from the Church, forsook the line of the sacred mysteries, and became entirely secular and pagan. The Italians rejected Christian and Biblical material for their tragedies and returned to antiquity or romanticism. Their comedies made monasticism, the priesthood and ecclesiastical morality alike ludicrous. The theatre of the Renascence might therefore seem to be an efficacious instrument for the overthrow of the ancient faith, but it shows itself as the weakest force in the emancipation of the people from superstition and the hierarchy. That the priesthood could resist the attacks made by comedy, that monks and clerics could remain the tranquil and amused spectators of Machiavelli's "Mandragola" and similar pieces, is perhaps the strongest testimony to the innate superficiality of the Italian drama,

[1] See the sections in Klein, in the above-named volume, more especially where he speaks of the Dalida of Luigi Groto, of whose tragedy Hadriana Shakespeare made use in Romeo and Juliet.

which only laid hold of the outer aspect of life and remains nothing more than an artistic product in the domain of scholarship.

5. PAINTING—RAFFAELLE UNDER LEO X.—GIULIO ROMANO—OTHER PUPILS OF RAFFAELLE—MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI—MICHAEL ANGELO UNDER LEO X.—MONUMENT IN HONOUR OF THE POPE—GOLD WORKERS—S. GIOVANNI DEI FIORENTINI—BEGINNING OF THE PALAZZO FARNESE—RAFFAELLE AS ARCHITECT—BUILDINGS OF SANSOVINO—PAINTING ON FAÇADES OF BUILDINGS—VILLAS—MATERIAL CONDITION OF ROME UNDER LEO X.—NEW QUARTERS OF THE CITY—GROWTH OF THE POPULATION—DECAY OF THE NOBILITY.

Raffaelle's industry in the time of Leo X.

Leo X. had more taste for literature than for art; and the greatest artistic achievements of his time were mainly due to the incentive given by his predecessor. Raffaelle continued the work he had begun in the Vatican. In 1514 he finished the release of Peter and the legend of Leo the Great and Attila in the Stanza of Heliodorus. The former painting must have reminded the Pope of his own deliverance from imprisonment in France; in the other Leo I. was depicted with the features of Leo X.[1]

In 1517 the Stanza dell' Incendio was completed after Raffaelle's cartoons. Here also the chief heroes, namesakes of Leo X., bear his features. In the picture representing the coronation of Charles

[1] *Hymnus ad div. Leon. P. M.*, *L. Gyraldi Poem.*, Lugd., 1536.

the Great, the Emperor, very inappropriately, is painted in the likeness of Francis I. The envoy of the French King may have regarded the portrait as an expression of thanks for the Concordat concluded at Bologna, but Maximilian's ambassador could only detect a threat in this painted flattery. It was only under Clement VII. that the last room, the Sala di Constantino, was painted by Giulio Romano and other pupils of Raffaelle after the drawings of the master. The paintings depict the victory of Christianity over paganism; the foundation of the State of the Church is also illustrated in the fabulous Donation of Constantine. In the series of subjects in the Sala della Segnatura the genius of Raffaelle rose freely and boldly to the highest ideals of humanity; in the Stanze dell' Incendio and di Constantino however it was obliged to descend from these heights to enter the service of the Church and of a Pope revelling in his sense of power.

For Bramante's loggie Raffaelle designed his charming series of Biblical subjects, in which religious genre and the idylls of the Old Testament are depicted in the most graceful scenes. In combination with the fantastic decoration in painting and stucco executed by Giovanni da Udine, these loggie contain one of the choicest gems of painting.[1]

The series of motives from the New Testament, with which Raffaelle probably intended to continue his Biblical illustrations, were not executed in the

[1] We have only to compare the continuation of the series, executed between the time of Gregory XIII. and that of Pius IX., in order to perceive that the productions of true art are inimitable.



Loggie, but in the ten Vatican tapestries woven at Arras in 1514. In these Raffaelle ascends from the idyl to the drama in its loftiest and most exalted conception. In artistic unity of treatment and vigour of action, these designs surpass any of his works in the Stanze, and are his most consummate and grandest creations.[1]

Raffaelle was endowed with such power of detachment that, while engaged in his tasks in the Vatican, he designed the pagan subjects after the antique for Chigi's villa. The graceful painting of Galatea is by his own hand, and from his drawings Giulio Romano, Francesco Penni, Giovanni da Udine and other pupils executed the history of Psyche.[2] In these world-famous pictures in the Farnesina, the ancient ideal passes through a modern medium and is thereby once more idealised. But amid the modern freedom, a feeling of antiquity still breathes, which

[1] The Arazzi were presented by Francis I. on the Canonisation of S. Francesco di Paolo. Stolen in 1527, they came into possession of the Duc de Montmorency, who restored them to Julius III. Seven cartoons of the series [formerly at Hampton Court] are to be seen at South Kensington. The other tapestries in the Vatican Gallery are either not from the hand of Raffaelle at all, or, as Kügler believes, were only executed after small drawings by the master.

[2] Pungileoni ascribes the Galatea to the year 1511. Raffaelle speaks of it in his letter to Castiglione of 1514: Bottari, *Raccolta di Lett.*, i. 83. If the opinion be correct that, instead of Galatea the figure is rather that of Venus, then was the picture probably executed by Raffaelle as early as 1511. True that Raffaelle is not mentioned in the *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* by Blosio Palladio (January 1512); a picture of Venus, however, is greatly extolled, and this would seem to be the Galatea: *Heic Venus orta mari, et concha sub sydera fertur.* R. Förster (*Farnesina-Studien*, p. 48 f.) has expressed himself unfavourably to this opinion of Rumohr.

later mythological pictures, those especially of the Caracci—or even of Guido Reni and Domenichino —have already wholly lost. No master was more entirely antique than the most Christian of all painters, and in this respect, too, the works of Raffaelle mark the zenith of the Renascence. In the fascinating picture of the marriage of Alexander and Roxana, painted by Sodoma in the Farnesina, the spirit of antiquity is already steeped in romanticism, but Aëtion himself, the ancient painter of the same subject, would have admired Sodoma's frescoes as one of the greatest achievements of painting.[1]

Decorative art in imitation of the examples of antiquity also attained perfection during the Renascence. Drawings of this description by Raffaelle, Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine and other artists have the most fantastic outlines. Vasari says that Raffaelle even employed copyists in Greece, but Rome still displayed remains of ancient wall-paintings. Vaulted halls containing painted and stucco ornamentations were discovered during Raffaelle's time in the Baths of Titus, and such decorations were accordingly called grotteschi. Roman paintings were also found on walls in the Garden of Sallust on the Quirinal and Palatine. Raffaelle produced other subjects taken from antiquity; the marriage of Alexander with Roxana in a summerhouse of the Villa Borghese;[2] and

[1] Lucian has described Aëtion's picture in his Dialogue, "A[illegible] or Herodotus," and Sodoma painted in accordance with his descr

[2] The house, supposed to be Raffaelle's villa, was destr



Venus and Cupid in Bibiena's bathroom in the Vatican. For the jovial author of the Calandra had baths built in the style of the ancient Thermae, intending to place within them a statue of Venus, and it is probable that the statue may have suggested the paintings.[1]

Raffaelle's industry was astounding; he, as it were, conjured forth huge compositions, easel pictures and portraits. In 1512 he painted for Goritz the prophet Isaiah in S. Agostino, a picture in which he showed that it was a mistake to emulate the grand manner of Michael Angelo, since he could not equal it. Neither did he attain it in the sibyls in S. Maria della Pace, painted for Agostino Chigi in 1514. For the same patron he also executed in 1516 the frescoes in the cupola of the chapel of S. Maria del Popolo, which depict the creation of the planets; the mosaics in the same cupola, however, are by Aloisè del Pace. The Madonnas, the Holy Families, the altar pieces, and the portraits executed in his latter years form a marvellous gallery of works, in which are prominent such magnificent figures as the Sistine Madonna, the Madonna della Sedia, the pearl of Madrid, and S. Cecilia. The Transfiguration was his last work. He died on Good Friday, April 6,

Death of Raffaelle, April 6, 1520.

Revolution of 1848; the frescoes, however, had previously been removed to the Palazzo Borghese in 1844.

[1] The room is closed to the public. The chief pictures there, painted after Raffaelle's designs, are: the Birth of Venus; Venus and Cupid on the sea; Venus wounded, complains to Cupid; Venus taking a thorn from her foot; also Cupids on a black background. See Gruyer, *Raphael et l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1864, ii. 141 *sq.*

1520, and found a fitting resting-place in the Pantheon.[1]

Five days later Agostino Chigi, to whom in his will Raffaelle entrusted the completion of the paintings in the Chapel in S. Maria della Pace, also died. On April 12 Chigi was buried with great pomp, in the other Chapel which he had founded (that in S. Maria del Popolo), more than 5000 Romans of all classes attending the funeral. His sumptuous monument in the Church is a work of Lorenzetto. On November 9 of the same year Bibiena also passed away, and thus within a short time Rome suffered the loss of three celebrated men.

After the freer development inaugurated by Giotto, Christian painting reached its perfection in Raffaelle. With the exception of the Last Judgment by Michael Angelo, it produced nothing more of a monumental character in Rome. Its flames continued to burn with an enchanting glow in Venice and Parma, where, however, the Christian ideal perished in sensuality, and still remained alight,

[1] Bembo wrote the well-known epitaph:

Ille hic est Raphael timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.

Baldassare Turini of Pescia was his executor. Can we believe that Alfonso of Este had the heart to demand the payment of a debt of fifty ducats out of Raffaelle's estate? A letter of Enca Pio, written to the Duke from Rome on January 17, 1521, deals with this demand: *Cum grandissima faticha ho habuito li cinquanta ducati per conto di Raphaele da Urbino perche li heredi diceano che il dicto rafaelle havea dato certe cose a V. Ex. et m. Jo. batista da laquila uno de comissari per niente non volea consentire che si pagassero, ma mons Datario molto gentil persona et amico di quella e mio, li fece intendere che V. S. Illma nò chiederia una miseria simile se non fusse vero che fusse creditor.* In the Este Archives at Modena.

if with diminished vigour, at Florence, in the productions of Andrea del Sarto, or in the Milanese school founded by Leonardo. Leonardo died in France a year before Raffaelle, but of his genius scarcely a trace remains in Rome.[1]

Giulio Romano.

Among Raffaelle's pupils the most prominent was Giulio Pippi, called Romano because a Roman by birth, a man of versatile ability, an architect and painter. He carried out many of his master's designs; copied the frescoes in Bibiena's bathroom on a larger scale in the loggia of the Villa Mattei on the Palatine. He also painted frescoes in the Villa Madama and in that of Turini (now Lante),[2] and for the house of Fugger his best altar-piece, the picture now in S. Maria dell' Anima. In 1524 he went to the Gonzaga, for whom he executed his best known frescoes, the Fall of the Giants and the story of Psyche. The achievements of other pupils of Raffaelle, of Timoteo Viti of Urbino, Garofalo, Bagnacavallo, Gianfrancesco Penni, Pierino del Vaga, Giovanni da Udine, Polidoro of Caravaggio and Vicenzio of S. Gemignano belong to the history of painting. Here we may only mention

Marc-antonio Raimondi.

Marcantonio Raimondi, who, while painting reached

[1] The fresco of the Madonna in S. Onofrio cannot with certainty be ascribed to Leonardo. He was only a short time in Rome, whither he came from Milan on September 24, 1514. Leo X. took little notice of him; the great master painted two small pictures for Baldassare Turini. Vasari, viii. 34, and Commentary, p. 60.

[2] The paintings from the Villa Mattei (now Villa Mills), transferred to canvas, became the property of the Marchese Campana, and are now at St. Petersburg. Those from the Villa Lante are to be found in the Palazzo Borghese.

its zenith, brought to great perfection the art (developed in Florence) of engraving on copper. From 1510 onwards he worked on Raffaelle's designs, to which his masterly engravings gave a wide circulation, while in Germany this art, being indeed in its native land, made marvellous progress under the great Albert Dürer.[1]

Michael Angelo under Leo X.

While Raffaelle glorified the reign of Leo. X., Michael Angelo found no occupation in Rome either as artist or sculptor. Neglected by the Pope, he dwelt in Florence and spent some bootless years in the quarries at Carrara, superintending the hewing of marble for the execution of Leo's commissions, mainly the decoration of the façade of S. Lorenzo and the tombs of the two Medici. The design for S. Lorenzo was never executed, and the celebrated figures in its sacristy belong more correctly to the reign of Clement VII. Rome possesses but one statue by Michael Angelo of the time of Leo X., the Christ in S. Maria sopra Minerva.[2] In Rome altogether there are very few sculptures worthy of note belonging to this period. The best perhaps is the figure of Jonas in the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo; this, although

[1] Kügler says that the first Florentine celebrated as an engraver on copper was Baccio Baldini, who flourished from 1477 onwards; afterwards Mantegna. Raimondi was born in 1488. As pupils of his Agostino of Venice and Marco of Ravenna rose to fame. Ugo of Carpi was a master of wood-cutting. He also worked in Rome after Raffaelle's designs. Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, iii. 429.

[2] Erected there, it would appear, in 1521. Appendix to Vasari, xii. 360. According to Aldovrandi, *Statue di Roma*, Metello Varo Porcari was owner of a first design of this figure of Christ.

executed by Lorenzetto, was probably designed by Raffaelle.[1] A pupil of Sansovino of the name of Amius is responsible for the statue erected on the Capitol to Leo X., the first statue of the kind raised to a pope by decree of senate and people. The seated figure is for this period an extraordinarily coarse and clumsy production.[2]

The Roman churches exhibit tombs of Leo's time, but none of the importance of Sansovino's work. Decorative sculpture produced a great quantity of Arabesque ornament in stucco and marble, and beautiful wood-carvings, such as those on the doors of the Vatican Stanze. Leo X., at Raffaelle's advice, had these executed by Giovanni Barili of Siena, nephew of Antonio, a celebrated master of the art.[3] All lesser branches of sculpture attained a beauty of form such as is seen at no later period. The medals and gems, the vessels in engraved and beaten metals, the reliquaries, and jewellery gave occupation to great numbers of artists. The Guild of Goldworkers (*nobile collegium*

Gems.

Jewellery.

[1] It was made from a block of marble that had fallen from the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum. Fea, *Notizie*, p. 6. Of the other prophets in the same chapel, the Elias is also a work of Lorenzetto.

[2] A poet nevertheless compared it to the Jupiter of Phidias: *Palladias imitare manus exactius Ami—Roma stupet, numenque putat spirare Leonis—C. Silvani Germanici in Statuam Leonis X. P. O. M. Silva*; a long, not badly written poem full of absurd flatteries, printed by Venuti as appendix to the speech made at the unveiling of the statue.

[3] Raffaelle made the drawings. Giulio Medici (Clement VII.) afterwards had the frame for the picture of the Transfiguration made by the same artist. Commentary to Vasari, viii. 92.

Aurificum et Argentariorum urbis) had long existed in Rome. At first united to that of the smiths and saddlers, it separated from the latter in 1509, and with the sanction of Julius II. built the Church of S. Eligio in the Via Julia, for which Raffaelle made the plans.[1] Benvenuto Cellini, who came to Rome for the first time in 1519, has given us a vivid description of this industry, which belonged to Northern Italy and Florence. His celebrated predecessor Caradosso or Cristoforo Foppa of Pavia was renowned as an artist in metals under Julius II., and also worked for Leo X., who, even while a Cardinal, had made a large collection of medals and gems.[2] The art of the medallist reached a classic height. It had flourished at Verona since the fifteenth century in Vittore Pisano, Matteo de' Pasti, Giulio della Torre. Almost all celebrated artists worked in this branch of industry. Medals were struck to commemorate all events of importance and all celebrated men. The art of engraving in pietra dura was cultivated with like skill, and mythological and historic figures were engraved with surprising delicacy in jasper, agate, diamonds and rock-crystal. Among men renowned in this

Medals.

[1] *Nuovo Statuto del nobil Collegio degli Orefici, ed Argentieri di Roma*, Rome, 1740. Previously and since the beginning of the fourteenth century S. Salvatore alle Coppelle had been the church of all three guilds.

[2] With regard to his medals, see J. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. der kgl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, iii. pt. 1, 1882. Other celebrated gold-workers were Santi di Cola Sabba, Raffaello del Moro of Florence, Domenico of Sutri, Antonio de' Fabbri of S. Marino. Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, iii. 417.

art were Giovanni Fiorentino, surnamed dalle Carniole, Giovanni Bernardi of Castel Bolognese, Pier Maria da Pescia, and the celebrated Valerio Belli, called Vicentino, of the school of Raffaelle, who made the beautiful crystal casket presented by Clement VII. to Francis I.[1] But all valuables of this nature collected in the Roman palaces were scattered or destroyed during the storms of 1527, so that we can now form but a very imperfect conception of the skill of the goldsmiths and jewellers of this period. Antiquity stamped its impress on this art also. It was still enabled to preserve the pure and severe forms of classic times, while in Cellini the art already degenerated into the "baroque." It attempted an unsuccessful revival in the days of the Consulate and the empire of Napoleon; it has now developed an eclectic antiquarianism in the Rome of present times, accepting all forms of the art of past ages, Egyptian, Etruscan and the Christian art of the period of the catacombs.[2]

[1] For the papal medals see Bonanni, *Numismata Pontif.*, Rome, 1699; Venuti, *Numismata Romana Pont.*, Rome, 1744. For the whole of this branch of industry Cicognara, *Storia della Scoltura*, v. 402 *sq.*; H. Bolzenthal, *Skizzen zur Kunstgesch. der modernen Medaillen-Arbeit*, Berlin, 1840, and the works of Alfred Armand and Alois Heisz, already mentioned in vol. vii. Giovanni dalle Carniole executed the beautiful portrait of Savonarola, and Domenico de' Camei cut the likeness of Lodovico il Moro on a ruby. [The crystal casket sent by Clement VII. to Francis I. is now to be seen in the Cabinet of Gems in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.—TRANSLATOR.]

[2] The most celebrated goldsmith of the present day in Rome is Augusto Castellani, many of whose charming works have been executed from drawings made by the Duke of Sermoneta. In his

Nothing of real greatness in the architectural restoration of Rome was accomplished under Leo X. While a Cardinal he had restored S. Maria in Dominica after Raffaelle's designs, and had there erected the imitation of an antique marble boat.[1] As Pope he built S. Giovanni on the Via Giulia, a church which was intended to form the centre of the quarter of the Florentines who had settled in Rome. Jacopo Tatti Sansovino drew the designs, and the necessary site was acquired by filling up part of the Tiber. But the building made such slow progress that the façade was only finished in the eighteenth century. S. Giovanni is the last of the great churches which was rebuilt in Rome, and its bald aspect shows that the religious spirit had forsaken ecclesiastical architecture.[2]

Buildings in Rome under Leo X.

The whole tendency of the time centred on secular things. Rome possessed sufficient churches, but not dwellings in proportion to her size. In the time of Leo X. arose many palatial dwellings which still adorn the city, although the grace and purity of Bramante's style had already degenerated into clumsiness of outline or artificiality of execution.

book *Delle Gemme, notizie raccolte* (Florence, 1870) Castellani has described the various kinds of gems.

[1] The adjacent villa was laid out by Ciriaco Mattei, Duca di Giove, in 1582. S. Marcello on the Corso having fallen in 1519, was rebuilt after the designs of Jacopo Sansovino under Clement VII. S. Maria in Monserrato, begun in 1495, was finished by Francesco da Volterra in 1580.

[2] In the time of Julius II. the Florentines also founded S. Giovanni Battista de Misericordia (or Decollato) with a hospital. Albertini, p. 82.

Palazzo Farnese.

The grandest of all the Roman palaces is the Palazzo Farnese, which, even although the original plan may have been altered, remains a magnificent monument of the younger Antonio di Sangallo. But only in its first foundations does it belong to the reign of Leo X. Built by order of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, on his elevation to the Papacy it was continued by Michael Angelo, who erected the upper arcades of the courtyard and the admirable cornice.[1] Sangallo built for himself a palace in the Via Giulia, which afterwards became the property of the Sacchetti; in the Via delle Coppelle he erected for Marchionne Baldasini the palace afterwards called Palma, and in 1532 the façade of the Mint in the Banks of S. Spirito.

Buildings of Raffaelle.

Raffaelle was also a great architect and was esteemed as such by Bramante, who chose the renowned painter to succeed him as architect of S. Peter's. A careful student of the architecture of the Renascence ascribes the following buildings to Raffaelle; the little church of S. Eligio degli Orefici; the Farnesina; the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo; the Palazzo Caffarelli (Vidoni);[2] the Palace of Giambattista dall' Aquila, chamberlain to Leo X.;[3] the loggie of the Vatican

[1] The lower loggia was built by Giacomo della Porta. The picturesque palace called Piccola Farnesina or de Regis probably belongs to the same period. Both architect and owner are unknown.

[2] Vasari wrongly ascribes it to Lorenzetto, who built the beautiful courtyard in the palace of Cardinal Andrea della Valle (iv. 579, ed. Milanesi). The same artist carved the statue of S. Peter on the Bridge of S. Angelo for Clement VII.

[3] This palace in the Borgo was destroyed when the colonnades were

which bear his name and the Villa Madama.[1] He also drew the plans for his own palace, but left the work to be carried out by Bramante. Now called dei Convertendi, it still remains on the Piazza Scossacavalli, and here Raffaelle died.[2]

Of Jacopo Tatti Sansovino, Rome still possesses the Palazzo Niccolini in the Banks, built by order of the Florentine Giovanni Gaddi.[3] Opposite stands the huge Palazzo Cicciaporci, the best Roman architectural work of Giulio Romano, by whom it was built for Giovanni Alberini in 1521. To the same architect is attributed the beautiful Palazzo Cenci (Maccarani) on the piazza of S. Eustachio, in whose neighbourhood stands the Palazzo Lante, by an unknown architect, one of the best works of the Roman Renascence.[4]

built. The house of Giacomo da Brescia, physician to Leo X., beside the Palazzo Accoramboni in the Borgo, is also ascribed to Raffaelle. It was utterly defaced in 1825.

[1] Geymüller, *Raf. Sanzio studiato come architetto*, Milano, 1884.—Carlo Pontani, *Op. architettoniche di Raf. Sanzio incise e dichiarate*, Roma, 1845.

[2] Domenico Gnoli, *La Casa di Raffaelle* (*Nuova Antologia*, 1887), gives the history of this palace.

[3] It afterwards came into the possession of Roberto Strozzi, then of Niccolini. The house outside the Porta del Popolo, on the way to the Villa of Julius III., was built by Sansovino for Marco Coscia; then it became the property of the Colonna.

[4] Supposed to have been built by Sansovino from Bramante's designs. From the armorial bearings Letarouilly (*Édifices de Rome Moderne*, p. 343) concludes that the palace was built for Giuliano Medici. The names of Giuliano and Giovanni Medici may also be read on a palace in the Via Giulia. Letarouilly gives some questionable dates: Palazzo Ossoli (Via de' Balestrari, n. 18) by Baldassare Peruzzi about 1525; Costa and Altemps by the same architect about 1530; Massimi alle Colonne, attributed beyond doubt to Peruzzi,



Wealthy men, for the most part members of the papal Curia, erected beautiful dwelling-houses and caused their façades to be decorated with frescoes. Vasari gives a description of the paintings executed by Baldassare Peruzzi on the house of Francesco Buzio in the Piazza Altieri, where the portraits of all the contemporary cardinals were depicted on the frieze and the twelve emperors and scenes from the history of Caesar on the façade. For paintings of this kind subjects from mythology and heroic legend were chosen by preference; subjects were also taken from Roman history, and the pagan Renascence was thus also outwardly expressed in this graceful decoration. Besides Peruzzi, Polidoro da Caravaggio and Vincenzo da S. Gemignano also painted façades in this style.[1]

Painting of façades.

Villas.

More and more villas arose both in and outside the city. As early as the fifteenth century the Capranica owned gardens on the Palatine, and Inghirami bought a vineyard, in which Albertini beheld the remains of ancient paintings; above the ruins of the buildings of Augustus the Mattei laid the foundations of a villa, which after various

about 1532; Linotti, formerly Silvestri, also by Peruzzi; Villa Medici, about 1540, by Annibale Lippi.

[1] Vincenzo decorated the now no longer existing palace of Gianantonio Battiferri (of Urbino) in the Borgo after drawings by Raffaelle. Vasari, viii. 147. Rome retains but few remains of such paintings. A portion of the picture of Andromeda by Polidoro, in the summerhouse of the Palazzo Bufalo, may still be seen. The painted house of Sander the notary in the Via dell' Anima, n. 16, belongs to the year 1506. There are façades in the Vicolo del Governo Vecchio, n. 11, and n. 9 in the Vicolo de' Matriciani.

fortunes ended in the baroque Villa Mills.[1] About 1524 Giulio Romano built on the Janiculum the beautiful country seat which afterwards received its name from the Lante. Scarcely any spot above the city commands so lovely a view. The site was chosen by Baldassare Turini of Pescia, a lover of art, who held an office at court and for whom Raffaelle painted the Madonna del Baldacchino. Giulio Medici, afterwards Clement VII., built on the slopes of Monte Mario a magnificent villa, for which Raffaelle drew the design, a design which Giulio Romano undertook to execute, but did not live to see finished.[2] Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine decorated it with frescoes and stucco ornament; it is now known as the Villa Madama, and is the saddest spectacle of ruined magnificence.[3] The Villa Medici already stood above on the summit of Monte Mario.

Leo X.'s favourite country seat, especially on account of the hunting it afforded, was the Magliana on the Tiber. He caused a chapel there to be painted with frescoes after Raffaelle's designs.

[1] It afterwards came into possession of the Spada, and about 1770 into that of the Abbé Rancoureuil, who caused the ancient rooms to be excavated. In 1818 it was bought by Mills, an Englishman. It now belongs to a female religious order.

[2] According to the plans and drawings (in Geymüller, *Raf. Sanzio —come Architetto*, p. 59 f.) this villa would have been the most magnificent in Rome.

[3] Under Paul III. it passed into the hands of Madama Margareta, daughter of Charles V. and wife of Ottavio Farnese; hence its name. The Bourbons of Naples inherited it from the Farnese. For information with regard to the building of the villa, see Reumont in Zahn's *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*. Ann. 2, p. 256.



This beautiful monument of the Renascence is now also in utter ruin. We have already spoken of summerhouses built by cardinals on the Quirinal, where under Prospero Colonna the beginnings of the Colonna Gardens were already to be seen.[1] We have noticed the villas of the Chigi and Colocci, of Goritz and Blosio Palladio. Jacopo Gallo, the friend of Michael Angelo, owned a beautiful villa near S. Angelo, where Sadoleto laid the scene of his dialogue in praise of Philosophy. A desire for the erection of villas was awakened. Men wished to have beautifully decorated houses in open situations, to which they could retire from the noise of the city. Gardens with fountains and shady alleys were laid out, and statues and relics of antiquity collected.

In spite of the many public and private buildings, the city of Leo X. in nowise presented a beautiful or even a habitable aspect. The popes were unable to rebuild the whole of Rome, and during their long period of rule there was never a time in which the city did not produce the impression of decay. The character of ruinous desolation and enchanted desertion, over which hovers the melancholy spirit of the past, as over no other city in the world, still constitutes the especial charm of Rome. All that was new was isolated and disconnected. Magnificent palaces with frescoed façades stood in streets that yawned with waste spaces or among the gloomy

[1] Leo X. bought the beautiful country house (*insula et horti*) of Sebastiano Ferreri on the Quirinal. *Bembi Epist. Leonis X.*, lib. ix. 37.

dwellings of the Middle Ages. This contrast entirely corresponded to the spiritual character of the city. The sacerdotal element thrust the civic out of sight. Convents, encircled with great walled enclosures, occupied vast tracts of the city and prevented the rise of other buildings. The cosmopolitan character of Rome was also a hindrance to architectural individuality. People had only to compare Florence, Genoa, Venice and even the smaller cities of Italy with Rome in order to perceive that the city did not bear the stamp of organic growth that springs from the national spirit. Leo X. exerted himself to enlarge, and to introduce some plan into, the labyrinthine streets, but his intention could not be carried out by edicts. Entire quarters of the city, such as the district Monti, parts of Trevi and Colonna, of Campitelli and Ripa, were left in their savage state, and have thus in great part remained until recent times.[1]

Growth of the Campo Marzo in the time of Leo X.

For centuries the Field of Mars had been the true centre of the city, and here building had been most actively carried on. Leo invited Tuscans to make their abode in this quarter, more especially where the three streets, which had long existed and which end in the Piazza del Popolo, had by his commands been put into better order. One of these, the present Ripetta, was at this time called after him the Leonina.[2] But it, too, was broken by waste

[1] The ecclesiastical period of Rome came to an end in 1871. The venerable city has undergone many alterations in becoming the residence of the Kings of Italy.

[2] Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaelle Sanzio*, p. 77.

spaces and vineyards, especially where it adjoined the Corso. And at this time there was scarcely a street in Rome, not even the Via Giulia, that could be called finished or complete.

The population increased. The growth of modern cities is due essentially to the development of prosperity by commerce and industry among the middle classes, and also to immigration. The former of these sources can never have had any influence on the growth of Rome. The mass of the Roman people lived mainly on the requirements of the priesthood, or as even in ancient times on the concourse of foreigners. While the rest of Italy was alight with the flames of war, Rome enjoyed tranquillity under Leo X. Many Italians consequently came to the city as to a haven of safety. Since the time of Sixtus IV. even Slavonians and Albanians had established themselves on the Ripetta, and after Julius II. a numerous colony of Lombards settled in the Field of Mars.[1] Genoese, Florentines, even Spaniards and Germans, natives of Flanders, Lorraine and Burgundy ensconced themselves from Trastevere far into the Campo Marzo, in quarters whose centres were formed by their national churches. Several of these national names still survive in the names of streets. Art and learning, the Church, the papal court yearly attracted crowds

Immigration.

[1] *Adeo ut ad campum Martium exstructis domibus peramplam coloniam condere videretur*: Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 100. The statement of Luigi Gradenigo, however, that within ten years after Leo's elevation 10,000 houses had been built in Rome by Lombards, is ridiculous. Report of 1523, in Albéri, ii. iii. 67.

of new comers, who arrived to seek their fortunes in Rome as in the times of the ancient emperors. If some only appeared and vanished with the flow and ebb of fortune, others remained in the city and became Romans. According to the statement of Francesco Vettori, the population of Rome increased by a third during the reign of Leo X., and before the disasters of 1527 was estimated by Jovius at 85,000.[1]

Decay of the civic families.

But in spite of all, the Roman people were among the poorest in Italy. Prelates and courtiers, papal nephews and adventurers may have accumulated temporary fortunes, but the wealth of the middle classes and the stationary wealth of Rome remained insignificant. The civic nobility and the great burgher class fell more and more to decay. Hundreds of senatorial families, whose names are registered in the Fasti of the Capitolian magistracy, or who belonged to ancient noble houses, still dwelt in their historic quarters, but contemplated with sadness their inevitable ruin. Incessant wars had devastated the country round Rome; the Borgia had made terrible clearances among the nobility and

[1] Fr. Vettori, *Sommario*, p. 339. Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 100. The orator of the festival on the Capitol (ed. Venuti) says: *Augetur siquidem Urbs vestra in dies aedificiis, et ad Tyberim novae regiones extenduntur qua sub Janiculo qua contra Janiculum, qua ad Flaminiam.* In the time of Leo X. an official register of all the houses in Rome, their owners and tenants, was founded; no notice was, however, taken therein of the number of individual inhabitants, so that we have no numerical statistics. Mariano Armellini, *Un censimento della città di Roma sotto il pont. di Leone X., tratto da un cod. dell' archivio Vaticano* (Estratto dal Period. "*Gli studi in Italia*," Anno iv. e v.). Roma, 1882.



had introduced arbitrary changes in their property. The restorations effected on the death of Alexander VI. did not suffice to repair these losses. Colonna and Orsini it is true still remained the foremost feudal families of Rome, and still regarded themselves as independent princely houses, but in the statistics of the Italian dynastic princes of Leo's time, the estimate of their revenues would barely have amounted to 25,000 ducats.[1] The Conti and Gaetani, the Savelli and Anibaldi, the Frajapani, Pierleoni, Astaldi and Cenci, in short the entire historic nobility of the city, had fallen very low. Even families comparatively fortunate, such as the Farnesi, Altieri, the Valle, Massimi and Cesarini, owed their better circumstances to merely accidental causes.

Marc-antonio Altieri on the decay of the city

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Marc-antonio Altieri, who, as one of the conservators during the illness of Julius II., had been the negotiator of peace with the barons, compiled a work, in which he represents some noble Romans as bewailing the utter ruin of the civic families. "Rome, formerly the Queen of the Universe, has sunk so low, that to the Romans their own city must appear like a desolate and gloomy den. From the quarter Monti as far as Cavallo, Trevi, and to the quarter of the Conti, are missing the Cerroni, Novelli, Paparoni and Petrucci, further the Salvetti, Nisci, Cagnoni, the Lupelli, Pirroni and Venettini; the Dammari, Foschi and Pini, the Masci, Capogalli, Mantaca and Carboni, the Palocchi, Acorari, Pedac-

[1] See the statistics in the Note, p. 360, vol. vii. of this history.

chia and Valentini; the Palelli, Arcioni, Migni, Capomastri, Subbatari, Negri; then the Mancini, Scotti, Infessura, Diotajuti, Boccamazi, Cenci, Tasca, Portii; the Calvi, Lalli, Buonsignori, Grifonetti, Frajapani and Marcellini. All these families, owing to their property, numbers and antiquity, formerly so celebrated and magnificent, are now either entirely or in part ruined.[1] As regards the rest of the unfortunate city, of the many seats founded in former days for the pleasure of the nobles, how many are there that have now so entirely vanished from sight, that we can scarcely discover traces of the porticoes, where we were formerly received.[2] But why should we speak of palaces, when a glance at the streets is enough? For we must sorrowfully admit that the greatest and most prosperous part of their inhabitants, many honoured and honourable men with their families, have disappeared. Who can survey without profound sorrow the once glorious Piazza Colonna, formerly inhabited by the fathers, children and grandchildren of the Buffalini, not to mention the Cancellieri, Treiofani, Tetellini, the Normandi, Sbonia, Valerani, Vari, Carosi, the Sorici, Ceretani, and Boccacci, the Juvancolini, Palosci, Jacobazzi, the Capoccini, and Signorili, and other countless

[1] *Sterpato in tutto hora le vedemo, overo più de mezze annichilate* This is the meaning of the expression "to be missing," *mancare.*

[2] *Quanti segi fondati per la recreatione de' gentilhomini*—as in Naples and other cities of Italy: and thus also is the word *logia* (portico) to be understood; it is the *lovium*, or the *laubia* of the mediaeval palaces, from Lombard times onwards, a *Porticus* in the front, which served as a meeting-place for the *Gentiluomini.*



respected families of the neighbourhood? They have now almost entirely passed away, and in their place we find merely a mean and degraded rabble."[1]

The speakers in the dialogue surveyed yet other quarters and districts of Rome, such as Pigna, Piscina, Piazza Giudea, Campitelli, in which they deplored the ruin of almost every illustrious family. We would rather remain silent, says the dejected Altieri, concerning the rest of Rome, so that we may not add to our grief by the enumeration of all the families that have fallen to decay in this great city, especially since we lack the genius and means to restore them.[2] A Pierleoni recalls the former greatness of his family, in whose palaces Pope Urban II. had found an asylum, and which was now sunk in misery. A Capoccia paints a like picture of the past glories and the present impoverishment of his noble house, and the proud Altieri acknowledges himself to have fallen so low that he is obliged to engage in agriculture and to associate with the humblest class.[3] He consoles his companions in misfortune with references to the common fate which, in this century,

[1] *Et hora de quelle in tutto over pur quasi orbata, nisciun altro vesse trovi in loco loro, se non uno flebile convento de abiecte et vilissime persone.*

[2] *Considerando quanti ne manchino in si breve paiese, defectandoce de ignego, et de potere retrovare modo alcuno per reparare.*

[3] *Et io desgratiato, destituto de honorevile recapito, se voglio vivattare, vedome astrecto per ultimo remedio consumarme alle acque, al vento, al sole, alla serena; et per mio maiur tormento, negociar sempre (contro mea voglia già) in cose rustice, con molto abiecte et vilissime persone.* Altieri should have noted this contempt for agriculture as one of the causes of the ruin of the Roman nobility.

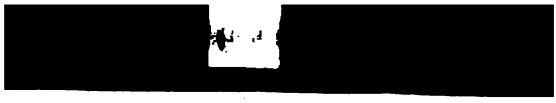
had befallen the greatest families of Italy, such as the house of Aragon, the Sforza and Malatesta, the Ordelaffi and Montefeltre, all of whom within a short space of time had been killed, scattered or reduced to beggary in the most piteous manner. They must, therefore, comfort themselves with the sentence of Pindar concerning the uncertainty of fortune, and accept in patience the inexorable fate.

Such is the picture which Romans themselves draw of the decay and ruin of the most illustrious class of the Roman people even in the most extolled age of the city, and we have quoted it here in order to correct exaggerated accounts of the prosperity and splendour of Rome at this period.[1] A few years after Altieri penned his description, the terrible misfortune befell her that effaced even this picture of the Eternal City.

[1] *Nuptiali di Marco Altieri*, MS. Altieri, edited by E. Narducci, *l.c.*, Rome, 1873. The work speaks of the fatal persecution of the Roman nobility by Alexander VI. Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini, whose wedding was the occasion of this dialogue, married Marzia, daughter of Guido Sforza of Santafiora. In Beneimbene's Book of Protocols, I found the deed of this marriage of April 8, 150 . The last figure, which is missing, was 4 or 5, and this gives the date of the writing of the dialogue. The Book of Protocols does not extend beyond 1505. The interlocutors are Gabriele Cesarini, Pierleone dei Pierleoni, Marco Mezzacavallo, Toma Capoccia, Giambattista Miccinello, and Marcantonio Altieri. This distinguished man, son of Girolamo and grandson of Lorenzo Altieri, meets us again in 1527. In the above quoted work of Narducci is to be found Altieri's speech on the Capitol on the occasion of the reconciliation of the barons. It contains a similar picture of the decay of Rome.



PRINTED BY
NEILL AND COMPANY, LIMITED,
EDINBURGH.





PRINTED BY
NEILL AND COMPANY, LIMITED,
EDINBURGH.

